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Citations to the presumably unpublished typescript, "Men Without a Country," should read, typescript in Yakima Indian Agency, Toppenish, Washington, superintendent's office files.

Date of preparation of the social study, deduced from the context, was apparently 1942.

There are not photographs or maps, appended, as noted in the manuscript.

A preliminary check in May, 1962, indicated that Dr. H.G. Barnett could be contacted through the Department of Anthropology, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon.

A communication has been addressed to him to determine if this is the same Barnett, his status in the field of education at the time, references to any works, published, and to obtain, if possible, a loan of pictures (negatives) referred to, for sake of comparison for a study 20 years later.

Click Rolander

Men Without a Country

By H.C. Barnett

A study of social adjustments of the Yakima Indians
of Washington under the Auspices of the Northwest
Regional Council

(undated but about ~~1254~~ 1942)

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The Aboriginal Base

In their aboriginal condition the Yakima Indians were not an agricultural people. They did make economic use of a great variety and a vast quantity of roots, berries, and other plants, but none of these were planted or cultivated in any way. They harvested the natural growth in its native setting, which means that at appropriate seasons of the year they went on food gathering excursions lasting for days and weeks at the places of greatest abundance. These plant foods were supplemented by large quantities of wild game and fish. They had no domesticated animals except the dog, and hence no controlled supply of food from this source, and no livestock encumbrance to restrict their periodic movements. The demand for meat and in the diet was, in fact, a further incentive to their seasonal migrant type of economic activity. Large numbers of deer, antelope, rabbits, land birds and waterfowl were to be taken with little effort in the valleys in certain seasons, but at other times it was necessary to move up in the foothills of the Cascades to secure deer, bear, elk and other game. Fish too could be taken in the streams of the valley; but the primary reliance was upon salmon and to take this quantity it was necessary to move to favorable locations on the larger streams at the time of the runs. The Yakima River had its share of these fish and was nearby; but even better fishing and more sociability were to be enjoyed at the sites on the Columbia several miles away, and so the Yakimas were in the habit of congregating with members of many other tribes at such famed locations as Priest Rapids, Pasco and Celilo Falls.

To exploit their food and other economic resources with the only knowledge at their disposal the Yakimas had therefore adopted a pattern of seasonal movements from one favorable locality to another. This does not mean that they were constantly on the move, not that they wandered aimlessly. Their winter home, from November to March or April, was in the valley of the Yakima River or on stream courses tributary to it near supplies of wood and water. There was not one village but many small ones composed of mat houses each containing several families in sheltered spots all along the creeks in this lowland area. Some economic activity was carried on during the winter; there was a little hunting and some household activity, mostly on the part of the women, which contributed to the stock of durable goods, implements, utensils and clothing. On the whole, however, this was a non-productive period when the people lived off their stores laid up in the summer. It was also confining and hence dull for the Indians, so that they anxiously awaited the spring and the first ripening of fresh plant food. With the coming of April the winter village broke up, its several family units going off by themselves or in company with a few others to the scattered root fields. By the time these wild root crops had been harvested and prepared for storage the early salmon runs of the latter part of May and June were demanding the attention of the men. July was a time of intensive fishing when all members of the family could help in the catching, drying or packing of the winter's supply, so camps were established at favorite rendezvous.

Thus by August the berries were ripe in the mountains, and this required another shift of camp for the whole family. Some preferred to stay in the uplands through September and October gathering late fruits and nuts and hunting; others returned to the river for the September runs. Whatever the individual disposition, and there were alternatives throughout most of the summer, there was considerable shifting and commingling by the various families. But with the return of the cold months its constituent family units reconvened for a period of hibernation in conformance with the natural wild life cycle to which Yakima economic activities were so intimately tied.

Habitual patterns of activity such as this become deeply ingrained in time, and they are not easy to eradicate or transform. In breeding between generations is established socially by a very early condition in the life of the child, and continued familiarity with the pattern makes it the only "logic" and "proper" one, and so it is that the migratory habit of the Yakimas has been the despair of administrators from the date of the establishment of the reservation until the present time. Their ambition has been to bring the Indian's way of life into congruity with the white man's, and they have realized from the beginning that this is impossible as long as the economic bases of the two cultures are not in agreement. Yet, despite persistent and varied attempts to induce the Yakimas to adopt a sedentary life founded upon agriculture and livestock tending but scant success has been achieved with the group as a whole. Large numbers of them still resort to the mountains for gathering activities in the spring and fall, and fishing at Celilo Falls is frequently carried on at the expense of livestock increase and farm harvest.

GOVERNMENTAL POLICY AND THE TRANSITION

There were many early attempts to inculcate our idea of private property in land and its products among the Indians. One of the earliest and ablest of their agents, Reverent James Wilbur, conceived that they must have specific plots of land assigned to them in severalty if they were to prosper, and he accordingly gave some of the more adaptable members of the tribe unofficial title to areas chosen by them for cultivation in sizes varying from 80 to 200 acres depending upon the size of their families and the quality of the soil. By 1880 he found it necessary to conduct a survey of these areas as disputes about boundaries had arisen. It was also his practice, in strict conformance to a Congressional Act of 1874, to distribute annuity goods in the form of stock, harness, wagons, etc. only to those who performed labor in return for them, convinced as he was that this was the only means of instilling an idea of their value. The system worked only within limits and in special cases. While the principal seems self evident to us, for the Indian it is apparent that he had first of all to be convinced of the value of the goods before he would work them and the majority were not. The issue is clear: They were not willing to trade a pattern of life for a wagon and field of wheat. Even those who did, it was discovered, had to be curbed. By 1885 those who owned livestock had become so careless and prodigal of it that it was necessary to require them to get an agent's order before they could buy, sell, trade or butcher any of it.

Nevertheless the trend in the public thinking was all toward private ownership for the Indian, and in 1887 there was passed the Dawes Severalty Act providing for the division of reservations into individual allocated portions the process to start at the discretion of the President in the case of each tribe. According to its provisions each head of a family was to receive 160 acres of land (or twice that in grazing or other land), each single person under 18 as well as each orphan was to receive 80 acres, and all other single persons under 18 born prior to the allotment order were to be given 40 acres. All such allottees were prevented from selling their lands by declaring that the lands were non taxable and held in trust by the United States Government for exclusive benefit of the Indians for a period of 25 years. The remainder of the reservation, after all living Indians had been provided for, was then to be thrown open to purchase and settlement by whites. There were later amendments to this act, the chief of which to concern us here, being the provision that allowed competent Indians, upon request and examination to obtain fee patents for their lands. This placed them upon the same footing as the whites, ~~xx~~ subject to taxation and free to dispose of their property as they saw fit.

There was strong opposition to this measure on the Yakima Reservation. It was inaugurated by Agent Lynch, the first allotments being made in 1892. The chief of the tribe opposed the division on the grounds that it would destroy the unity of thought and action by his people; there were some conflicting claims which aggravated the problem of distribution; and some individuals ~~xxxx~~ obstructed the surveyors' work by pulling up boundary stakes and wrecking instruments. The process nonetheless proceeded apace. By the beginning of 1912 three thousand one hundred and sixty allotments had been made. In 1914 the allotment rolls were closed, four thousand five hundred and six individuals having been granted a total of 440,000 acres. Indians born since that date are without original assignments of land and if they own any at all they must have inherited it. Even before that time good land was scarce, those who entered a claim subsequent to 1908 to 1910 being able to receive only marginal plots, or grazing lands, or timbered areas in the mountains.

As might be expected it was the more adaptable individuals, those who had embraced the white man's ideals, who were farsighted enough to take advantage of the new plan. The conservatives held back, reluctantly accepted what was given them and fared badly; a circumstance which has further contributed to their recalcitrance and has perpetuated their backwardness to the present day. First and foremost among those who accepted the new way of life and capitalized upon it were the half breeds and a number of women who had married white men. The parents of a good proportion ~~and~~ of individuals in these categories did not originally belong to the Yakima tribe, and according to the views of present conservatives did not have a right to be granted land here in the first place. Further cause for complaint lies in the fact that these aliens and half breeds obviously took their allotments with the intent of selling to whites, and hence they are regarded as traitors and renegades.

There can be no doubt that the opening of the reservation was in large measure due to these misfits. Previous to 1887 the center of reservation life was the agency offices established at Fort Simcoe in a western corner of the valley. The more progressive Indians had their farms in this immediate vicinity; the rest of the area was a wasteland of sagebrush and rye grass. Up until this time, too, the Indians took advantage of their treaty rights and made violent objections to any whiteman living within the reservation's boundaries; and they were able to secure the eviction of all but two or three who were married to Indian women. Even the railroad, cutting across the reservation in 1886 did not alter this isolationistic stand. But with the passage of the Dawes Act and the subsequent measure relating to competency and the way was open for a radical alteration in the relations of whites and Indians. The members of five Indian and part Indian families in particular envisaged the possibilities and seized upon locations near the railroad depot for their allotments when these were first assigned. For several years they rented their lands to enterprising whites and upon securing fee patents in 1905 and 1907 they platted them and sold them for townsite lots. The town of Copanish boomed, and by 1907 when the need for incorporation became apparent it had a population of 800, a bank, hotels, restaurants, a newspaper, and a variety of mercantile and service establishments. Today it has a population of 3,628 and is the hub of reservation life. Other places such as Parker, Napato, Harrah and White Swan have had similar histories. Apart from their presentation of urban patterns for the good or ill of the surroundings of native population, the effect of these several towns has been to shift the focus of attention and activity from the western to the eastern part of the reservation. The change has been pronounced and rapid, even in the eyes of the Indians; that by 1915 the position of the agency at Fort Simcoe was felt to be too remote from the main current of Indian affairs, and in 1922 the administrative offices moved to Copanish.

THE LAND AND ITS UTILIZATION

All of the above towns mentioned except White Swan lie close to the Yakima River which flows along the northeasternmost margin of the reservation. The development of this section has not been fortuitous. Its commerce is accommodated by the railroad which takes a northward swing at this point, and its fields are supplied by the necessary water from the adjacent river. During the first years of its growth and this rich agricultural region had to rely upon crude rock diversion dams in the river and upon certain natural channels to distribute its water. Beginning in 1906 Congress began to make a number of appropriations totaling approximately \$2,000,000 for the development of a comprehensive irrigation system known as the Napato Project. It ramifies from a dam built in 1917 at the north eastern corner of the reservation. Augmented by pumping units its 26 miles of main canals and 735 miles of laterals embrace and irrigable area of over 140,000 acres and directly benefits about 900 Indians and 1,000 white farmer units. An immediate feasible extension of the Abaton region is in prospect and will add another twenty sections of land to the total. A more remote possibility is the projected diversion of the Klickitat River from near its headwaters into the north western section of the reservation. This would put some 30,000 additional acres of fertile soil into production, but it would require several million dollars to complete it and the assurance of a return on electric sales to liquidate the indebtedness. Since the instroduction of cheaper power from larger dams on the Columbia River, the likelihood of this development seems more remote.

Some attempt to salvage the entire western end of the reclamation valley from its semi-desert condition must be made however if the Indians who hold allotments in that section are to prosper as farmers. The Wapato project skirts the eastern margin of the "White Swan" district (see map) (no maps included) and does not supply its higher levels with irrigation water. Two or three small streams wind down in irregular courses through this arid upland from their sources in the western foothills, but the water flow is scanty and frequently dries up entirely during the hot months. It is not sufficient to irrigate the few patches of farming land that now exist. One incomplete and inadequate system in the southwestern part of the area permitted a crop acreage of only 1,988 this year. Below the limited area served by this unit, habitation and cultivation is practically confined to the narrow beds of the creeks, small patches of corn, hay and grain appearing in irregular natural embayments and depressed areas adjacent to them. The "White Swan" vicinity, eighteen miles to the west of Tonawish, stands a marked contrast to the greener lands nourished by water from the Wapato Irrigation unit, and there is no denying that farming here is a struggle for either the Indian or the whiteman.

The irrigation projects are under the direction of the U.S. Indian Irrigation Service, capital for them having been provided in part directly by Congress and in part from Yakima tribal funds. Since 1916 changes for the use of water from the system constitute a lien against the irrigated property, and ~~tax~~ in the case of Indian allotments are collectable at the agency. Not all of the land embraced by the system is under cultivation. The total acreage in production within the Wapato unit (the largest) this year is 109,152 an increase of 834 acres over last year. The two other similar units add 1,988 and 4,719, making a total of 115,858 acres of productive land provided for by the system in 1942. To this should be added an estimated 4,000 acres cultivated by individuals in various spots on creek beds outside of the reclamation areas. This represents the total area of land under cultivation by both whites and Indians on the reservation at present.

The effects of these reclamation projects upon the Indian have been far reaching. They have completely altered the aspect of the valley, changing its vegetation type, rendering it infinitely more valuable and attractive to white men and contributing to the growth of commercial and residential centers. Today a variety of crops can be grown and the numbers of dairying and beef livestock raised. The leading crop, as in the past, is alfalfa; three cuttings can be made of this in a year, with a yield of five tons per acre, and a fall pasture provided for cattle or sheep. Other prominent crops include sugar beets, potatoes, barley and corn. The 1942 crop report with acreage might be of interest (appendix)

In connection with the development of valuable lands and towns on the reservation problems in the management of Indian-white relations were certain to become more complicated. Far from creating a basis for more harmonious relations between the two races the allotment act of 1887 only made Indian administration more difficult. The consequence of this measure was disillusioning to those of its sponsors who had the well being of the Indian in mind. The abuses that it permitted soon became manifested and inspired several special Congressional acts to control them.

In addition agency superintendents were impelled to impose restrictions upon their charges. In general Indians were not interested in the land and the labor involved in putting it into production; whenever they could they sold it, and often to unscrupulous white men. By 1911 forty-five patents had been issued and 290 lands sales had been made covering most patents, naturally in the areas made valuable by irrigation improvements. The prices received ranged from a few dollars to \$150 an acre for improved farms. The Indian was not allowed to handle the money; it went into depositories held in trust by the departmental officials, and was paid out only on their authorization. The Indian could not incur valid debts against his deposit. Non-competent Indians incapacitated by age or disease were permitted to sell portions of their allotments to get funds for the necessities of life; and those who were in good health could sell a part of their land to get funds for improvements on the retained portion, but only in special cases. There were fewer restrictions placed on the sale of inherited lands, but even then the heir had to show that the sale was for good reasons.

Since that time the restrictions upon relinquishment of titles have been increased there is no law against the sale of their lands by Indians and they can still get fee patents. But as a matter of policy the present Indian administration is opposed to releasing land from its trust. So is the Yakima Tribal Council and most of the Indians, who relish their position as non-taxpayers and realize that they would succumb under present conditions if they had to pay a property tax. Perhaps it would be more accurate to say that the Office of Indian Affairs is opposed to land sales; to this it will agree only in exceptional cases, and its authority is requisite for such a transaction. An instance occurred last year: a certain individual's allotment adjoined the town of Toppenish and included an odd corner which he could not use so he was permitted to sell it to a service station operator. The result is that only a very few Indians hold patents in fee and pay taxes on their lands. The official attitude curbing land sales is a reaction against past tendencies which have operated to dispossess the Indian and leave him homeless. Of the original reservation comprising well over a million and a quarter acres, the present jurisdiction of the Department of Indian Affairs has been reduced to 1,112,767 acres. Before the forces of restraint came into operation 86,953 acres had been alienated by sale and patents to white homesteaders in accordance with the act approved by Congress in 1904 (Public Acts of 58th Congress, 3rd Session). Some idea of the degree and character of land alienation can be gained by a glance at the map on page . (no maps evident)

The absolute loss of land to the Yakimas has not been serious but the demand by white farmers has naturally been for the choice locations and it is in the most productive areas that the Indian has foolishly relinquished his holdings. The 1916-17 loss would undoubtedly have been greater had the so-called policy agent plan of 1916-17 gone unchallenged. The administration of that period decided to declare whole groups of Indians competent without their individual petitions, and proceeded to bestow fee patents upon them. Many Indians objected and the case was brought before Supreme Court.

its decision was that the Secretary of the Interior had exceeded his authority in waiving the 25-year stipulation of the Dawes act and that the Indian who had been required to pay property taxes as a result of his action should be reimbursed a decision which worked considerable hardship on several counties and caused some ill feeling.

Administrators now feel that the local problem is pressing, and that the first requirement is to assure the individual Indian of enough to take care of his needs. He is to be made economically self sufficient through land use. On some reservations this policy has necessitated the repurchase of alienated lands to provide homes for those who have been improvident (or whose fathers have been) or for those who have been born too late to be allotted. There are some Yakimas in this predicament, and many others who have fallen heir to such small portions of allotments that no good is to be derived from them. Heirships grow more complicated each year; and inter family squabbles render the effective utilization of some lands impossible. The Yakima tribe has accumulated a fund of approximately \$200,000 and the council has been considering the advisability of using part of this for the repurchase of alienated lands and complicated heirships, either for tribal benefit or to be purchased on time by some of the deserving younger Indians who have never had allotments. Nothing has come of this proposal as yet.

It is not that the Yakimas are crowded for land. Of the 1,112,767 acres still under jurisdiction only 353,585 or about one third has ever been allotted. There remains 759,207 acres of tribal land, but policy is opposed to the allotment of this even in cases where the land is good for farming or pasture. The Indian Office inclines toward the concept of community property for the Indian, presumably (sic) rejected the idea on a test a few years ago. They now want land, and they want it individually held; though this is not to say that they either cherish it as a possession or want to labor on it.

INCOME FROM THE LAND

This introduces another matter which has added to the complexity (sic) and the expense of the administration of Indian lands; namely the practice of leasing. Almost from the beginning of individual allotment holdings it has been possible for the trust patented Indian to rent the use of his land to others, which means usually to white tenants. Applicants for leasing privilege must make a formal bid on the property and the acceptance or rejection of this is up to the Indian. It is possible for him to give the agent power of attorney in this matter, but few Indians like to do this; they prefer to pass judgment upon the lessee themselves. Also the practice of demanding "side money" or bribe for signing the lease is current, since rent payments on all so called competent leases (the majority) are not paid to the lessor directly but through the office where its cash disbursement to the improvident land owner can be regulated. Leases are let for from one to five years, most of them covering a 3 year period with a practical certainty of renewal if all agreements have been met and the lessee is satisfactory to the Indian. Most leases stipulate that some improvements must be made on the land, especially if they are long term grants.

Many lessees have been in continuous possession of Indian property for 8 to 10 years, and one has been on the same allotment for 26 years. A few of the lessees each year are on a crop share basis, and a few for improvements only; but the majority are for cash. Both agricultural and grazing lands are leased. The proportions, the rental prices, and the income vary little from year to year. The 1940 report (see appendix) will therefore serve to give an idea of the scope of leasing operations.

During that year there were 1,734 leases of which 1,197 were on agricultural land, 469 on grazing land, and 7 were business leases. The general average rental varied between \$3.59 and \$3.22 for the agricultural and between \$.57 and \$1.03 for the grazing land. The total acreage leased was 116,069 which is a little less than a third of the total allotment acreage of 353,585 acres. The total cash income from this source was \$257,182, giving an average of almost \$150 per year per lease. This figure however, like all averages, means little in the concrete case; some individuals receive but a very few dollars a year, others are paid well over a thousand.

It is obvious that most Indians would rather rent their land and live off its meager returns than to utilize it themselves. Some of them find justification for this in the plea that it is sometimes difficult to work out a satisfactory agreement with co heirs; but from this report just cited it appears ~~xxxxxxx~~ that almost as many leases are signed by original allottees or single heirs as by clusters of co heirs (844 and 869 respectively); while of the former there were more than twice as many as there were involved in a sideways partnership. Contract difficulties obviously do not play the key role in this. The same holds true for the complaint that it is not worth while to farm because of unproductive land, for it is practically the best land which is rented. Under the Wapato Irrigation project this year over 7 times as much Indian owned land had been farmed by whites as by Indians; and another five-fold portion of it is white owned. Nor do Indians lease lands from their tribesmen to the degree which we might expect them to do. Last year's report shows a total of only 8,733 acres of land leased by Indians, 1,337 of it being agricultural; there were 103 contracts in this category bringing an income of \$7,336 paid to Indians by Indians (sic).

Officials in every department endeavor to get the Indian to assume the initiative and accept the responsibilities of his undertakings. One approach in this plan has been to encourage the private negotiations of lease contracts. The stipulations are subject to review by the superintendent, just to make certain that the Indian has not signed an invalid document; otherwise the terms are left up to him, he receives the rental money directly, and the agency assumes no legal responsibility in the matter. Few individuals are denied the privilege upon request, but most prefer to let the agency officials handle this complicated business. In 1940 somewhat less than a fifth (314 out of 1,734) of the leases were in this competent class.

Income from agricultural holdings belong almost entirely to the individual Indian since this kind of land is all allotted.

Much of the grazing land on the other hand has not been apportioned; it remains in the control of the tribe, and its benefits and returns are group property. Any member may graze his stock upon this open range free of charge up to the limit of 100 cattle or 500 sheep. Over that, and for the use of any individual's land, he pays the regular fee, set by the tribal council. This arrangement offers the opportunity for a few to gain at the expense of others and although the matter has been discussed in council nothing has been done about it. At one time there was a proposal to pro rate the tribal grazing area and so bring greater returns to the group by taxing the few who maintain large herds, but this was rejected. The leasing profits come mainly from outsiders. This year there are nearly 30,000 head of sheep being grazed on the reservation at the rate of \$1.65 per head for nine months. At a meeting this summer the council decided to raise this fee to \$2.05, expressing the view that the rise in living costs make it hard for the Indians to live on their limited incomes."

A brief summary of land tenure and use for the past year may be of interest: (1) land operated by Indians amounted to 443,705 acres. Of this 13,620 acres all allotted and held in trust, were under cultivation; 164,603 acres were open grazing land of which 27,247 acres were allotted and 137,383 acres tribal; 265,455 acres were in forest grazing land of which 53,098 were allotted and 212,357 acres tribal. (2) White operated land totaled 557,041 acres. Of this there were 62,120 acres of irrigated land; 334,829 acres of grazing land of which 92,041 acres were allotted and 242,788 acres tribal; 160,107 acres of forest grazing land of which 37,228 acres were allotted and 122,879 acres tribal. (3) In addition there were 112,041 acres of idle land of which 68,351 were allotted and 43,609 tribal.

In the foregoing discussion of leasing activity we have, of course, been dealing with sources of unearned income for the Indian. Information upon this point is enlightening for it helps to explain the oft heard dictum that the Indian is lazy and worthless because he can afford to that way(sic), that he doesn't work because he does not have to, and that he will not do so as long as this condition persists. That, however, is not the whole picture. Many Indians do work, and in the aggregate, at least produce considerable wealth. In its 1941 report the Extension whose business is to ~~xxxxxx~~ promote agricultural activities among the Indians, evaluated their agricultural and livestock sales at \$412,654, their home grown and consumed products at \$66,610, their total farm and livestock expenses at \$276,382, and their net income at \$202,881. The sources of the cash income fall into these major categories: cash crops \$183,785; fruit and berry yield \$5,175; beef sales \$193,250; livestock products \$30,444. This of course does not include the additional values represented by garden produce, clothing, preserved fruits, vegetables, and meats which were for home consumption and estimated to be worth \$66,610.

The distribution of this earned income among the 222 recognized agricultural families (out of the 543 on the reservation) is represented in the following table. It will be remembered that these families farmed 13,620 acres of land, and that their incomes derive from crops of all kinds thereby produced. They include also the proceeds from livestock tending.

(See appendix for break down of these items)

| | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------------|---------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|-----------------|
| 10 income brackets | \$50 to \$149 | \$150 to \$249 | \$250 to \$349 | \$350 to \$449 | \$450 to \$549 | \$550 to \$649 | \$650 to \$749 | \$750 to \$999 | \$1,000 to over |
| number of families | 10 | 25 | 60 | 38 | 39 | 16 | 13 | 10 | 16 |

Indians in 1941 owned several kinds of domesticated animals which were given an over all evaluation of \$483,289. This included 5,850 beef cattle, 651 dairy cattle, 5,540 sheep, 570 hogs, 5,724 horses and mules, 4,460 chickens, 330 turkeys and 90 waterfowl. The numbers of families owning different sizes of herds of the more important food animals is given in the table below

| Kinds | Number of Animals Owned | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------|-------------------------|----|----|----|----|----|---|---|---|----|----|----|----|----|----|------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | over |
| Cattle | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Beef | 16 | 13 | 9 | 18 | 25 | 12 | 2 | | | | | | | | | |
| Dairy | 16 | 13 | 9 | 18 | 25 | 12 | 2 | | | | | | | | | |
| Hogs | 14 | 28 | 14 | 8 | 10 | 5 | | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | |
| Sheep | | | | | | 2 | | 1 | | | | | | | | |

It will be seen from this that there were only 2 men with range cattle herds of over 300 head, and no one with as many as 500. The general run of individuals who devote special attention to cattle raising own from 20 to 40 head. Of most common occurrence is the farm with one or two milk cows and hogs, three or four horses, and a flock of chickens.

It should be borne in mind however, that this idyllic picture is far from typical of the reservation as a whole. It applies only to those Indians who keep stock of the above kinds at all; that is to less than half (222 out of 543) of the families on the reservation. Many Indians keep no hogs, sheep or cattle whatever, even though they raise hay and grain. Milk cows and hogs are noticeably absent to one who expects farmers at the subsistence level, with little cash income, to take advantage of their opportunities to raise their own food. In this connection it is worth repeating that agricultural reports show no home production of butter or cheese, and this bears out the writer's observation. With this impression allowance must be made for a more concentrated attention upon the western part of the valley, but there are at any rate a milk cow is an anomaly. The indifferent farmers in that section own a few chickens, a team or two of work horses, perhaps a saddle horse, and very little else as a rule. Their income if any, apart from rentals, must come from other sources; and we may now turn our attention to these.

ECONOMIC SURVIVAL

The traditional pattern of making hunting and gathering excursions to the mountains at appropriate seasons still survives in force among a good proportion of the population (During the month of August it was most difficult to secure information on Indian custom for most of these who retain knowledge of aboriginal forms still adhere to them). Even those who have agreed to tie themselves down with stock and farm obligations still yearn for a "vacation" in the mountains and find a few days now and then to satisfy their taste for an outing and some of the old foods. (As in aboriginal days huckleberries are much sought after, and quantities are dried or canned for winter.) Some are sold, but this is not an incentive to the Indian. Individual sales to the local market have been negligible. A canvass of the Toppenish stores revealed ~~xxxxxxx~~ that but a few merchants buy berries from Indians and then mostly for their own tables. Some have objections to Indian handled goods. (This year it has been rumored that the white pickers who normally supply northwestern markets are few and that the Indians may be approached for contract labor. The Yakimas are not likely to respond. They do gather large quantities of berries, but it is mainly for the purpose of storing them for home use).

The old foot foods are much harder to get today. Sheep and other stock graze the vegetation so close that tubers and bulbs either die or cannot be found. The Indian laments this, and most of them would much rather roots than sheep to eat (sic). Some gathering still takes place each spring. (It was not difficult to secure specimens of aboriginally prepared plant foods during the summer of this year; almost every household could provide them. Where they are no longer locally accessible, fish, shawls, and other items are traded for them in standard quantities, packed in native bags, from other regions).

Hunting is still a favorite activity during the winter. Several of the animal species known to older members of the tribe have vanished, but deer and bear are plentiful. (Not only the meat but the skins of deer, for buck skin clothing are widely used at the present day. Fur bearing animals such as beaver provide a cash income for some of the more energetic. No restrictions have been placed upon the hunting techniques, the quantities that can be taken, or the season when hunting can take place. This is a matter of serious concern for not only reservation officials but others as well. Indian lands adjoin restricted areas, and indiscriminate hunting in the one section practically nullifies the effects of control in others. (In so far as is known Indians do not want only to kill game, nor do they use the mass slaughtering techniques originally designed to supply meat in quantity for the village. They use guns, but they do not hesitate to kill does with fawns, and they shoot a great number of deer in winter when they are driven down from the mountains by deep snow. Not long ago the federal government, under the migratory bird act, prohibited the killing of ducks, and the solicitor general ruled that the act applied to Indians too. Several Indians were arrested in violation and contested the vicinity of the prohibition, appealing to their treaty rights. The solicitor general then reversed his position. Several attempts have been made to induce the tribal council to frame some hunting regulations for the reservation, but nothing has been done to date. It is estimated that about 50 individuals were last year engaged in commercial hunting and trapping).

Of all wild life activities salmon fishing continues to be the most important and the most lucrative. It attracts most of the younger and middle aged Indians and through them practically every family gets fish in some quantity. Some men spend the better part of the summer at Celilo in commercial fishing. Ordinarily they receive from 1 to 5 per pound (sic) and with luck can make good money. Exceptional perhaps is the case of a boy of 19 who last year netted \$1,200 during the month of September; but this year many fishermen are making several hundred dollars each working for a record pack to supply government demands for the armed forces. (Approximately 271 men were engaged in this commercial fishing in 1940 (the last report) selling to wholesale fresh meat dealers on the spot. Most Indians however fish for themselves and families that rely upon this source for a winter's food supply stock up with 500 to 600 pounds. This may be dried as it was aboriginally or canned; and recently Indians have been utilizing frozen food lockers that are for rent in "White Swan, Tonnenish, and Tarrah. Two or three men have stored as much as a ton of fish in their lockers at White Swan this summer.

The privileges which Indians enjoy in fishing are resented by white men, especially the sportsmen, and for some time past the State of Washington has refused to acknowledge certain rights claimed by them on the whole basis of treaty provisions. Specifically the state has denied the Indians the right to fish commercially unless he pays for a license like anyone else. It has not denied him the privilege of fishing for his own use at any season, but insisted that the commercial regulations must apply to anyone. This restraint was contested, and in latest case which eventually reached the Supreme Court this year 1942, the Indians were vindicated, the decision voiding the state's claim but ruling that it might put reasonable restrictions upon any and all fishing for purposes of conservation. In view of this concession agency officials do not feel that the matter is settled and they anticipate further difficulties.

The lumber resources of the reservation have never been systematically utilized. The timber as it now stands is valued at \$10 million; with controlled cutting and replanting it would yield indefinitely. The question of its sale has been argued and reconsidered in council meetings for the last 50 years; but no agreement has been reached upon its disposal. The issue is perennial and is even being discussed. (If the Indians could be induced to relinquish their claims, and could agree upon a price, the tribal fund would receive the proceeds from all unallotted areas and individual allottees would benefit directly in proportion to their timber holdings. Any Indian may now cut 10 cords of wood for his own use, and some do. But it is to be remarked that many do not take advantage of this privilege; they prefer to buy their stock from the wood yards in Tonnenish and elsewhere, especially if they live near these towns. Indians may also cut wood for sale in quantities over their 10 cords allowance, and some do. A few sell their cuttings to the local coal and wood yards, and two or three individuals have been supplying White People directly in "White Swan this summer. It is surprising, however, that there are not more of these individual dealers, especially in view of the price of \$11 a cord for delivered firewood that they are receiving. Those with timber allotments pay nothing for wood at the source; only their labor and the expense of hauling have to be reckoned with. If they own no timber they may pay a basic rate of approximately \$1 per cord either to the tribal fund (if the cutting is on tribal land), or to other individuals. Many of those with allotments offer their timber for sale, authorizing the agent with power of attorney to dispose of it to their best interests. "White men may and do secure permits on the basis as unallotted Indians; that is by paying the basic rate. The forestry division exercises a certain authority

yield, but this is not an burdensome restriction. Other sources of wood are much further away, and Indians could control the local market. They do not, however.

A few of the ancient handicrafts are still carried on. Buckskin is tanned by the women in the aboriginal manner while in the mountains or at home. From it clothing is made for ceremonial occasions, and also quantities of moccasins which are an item of everyday wear for both men and women among a fairly large segment of the population. Another characteristic feature of the women's attire is the beaded handbag. Some plain and fancy beaded gloves are also made, although leather and cotton gloves from the store are a much more common sight and actual use. The women continue to make excellent baskets of native and commercial materials, and they prefer to use them to other containers for storing foods and as berry picking receptacles. In practically every home there is to be found a product of one or more of these surviving crafts; but only a small proportion of the households make any attempt to reduce the demands upon their cash outlays by such home industry. The articles are used and bring in little cash income or credit. Their commercial value is small, the demand for them by the larger market of whites is at a minimum. Three stores in Toponish were found to carry a small stock of gloves (mostly), moccasins and "trinkets"; one dry goods store takes them in credit. Except as souvenirs they have no value to whites. Furthermore, they have mainly a sentimental value to the Indians who regard them more or less as symbols of their heritage. They are not interested in selling them, although admittedly this attitude is a function of market conditions. The principal way in which Indians realize a direct return on their handicrafts is by the economic process of pawning their treasured items. They protest against this necessity and make a show of real reluctance in parting with their heirlooms; but there thrives nonetheless a so called trading post in Toponish whose business it is to lend money on Indian curios, and there is scarcely a long established mercantile house in the district which does not have a collection of unredeemed handicraft specimens, taken in on credit.

Indian Employees

So far we have considered income accruing to the Indian chiefly as a consequence of his peculiar position as a member of a privileged and protected class of citizens. He is able to maintain his status as a landholder in most cases because he is tax exempt and cannot be duped or deprived of it in any event. He is the recipient of an unearned income with the assistance of a considerable amount of official protective machinery. He can capitalize upon the wild life resources of a vast area because it has guarded borders and he ranges over it without restriction. Under competitive conditions it is a serious question whether he would survive. Even when he is expected to meet the white man's requirements of economic efficiency he shrinks away and has acquired a bad reputation as a lazy unreliable ne'er to do well. He is not a good employee by most employer's standards.

In the past years the Indian has received compensation for his labor on a variety of government projects. In its own multifaceted business the Indian bureau makes it a matter of policy to give preference to competent Indians in hiring help. In the Yakima agency office several are employed on the regular payroll as clerks and assistants. Regular Indian employees are also in the service of the Reclamation Bureau on construction and maintenance crews, in the office, and as guards at critical points in the irrigation system. Various federal assistance programs such as WPA, NYA and CCC have included a good proportion of Indian beneficiaries in recent years, but in line with general national policy, the scope of these projects is being sharply reduced. In addition to its regular employees the agency has need of men from time to time for seasonal and emergency labor in fire fighting, road building and maintenance and preference is given to capable Indians on those jobs.

These paternalistic measures are designed to accommodate the Indian and to encourage him to enter the competitive labor market in the wider field of private enterprise, and also to compensate for his present inability to do so. There can be no doubt of his failure in this regard. In order to give substance to an impression to this effect a brief survey was made of employment possibilities for Indians in Toppenish this last summer. The managers of fifty-five business houses, including stores of all kinds, warehouses, garages, hotels and processing establishments, as well as an employment agency, were contacted. The inquiry covered the whole of the main street, and we believe, affords a representative sampling of conditions. Three places were found to be employing Indians, no more than 10 in all, with only one or two full bloods among them. As might be expected, all were unskilled laborers. It was found that in the past untrained workers have been hired on the railroad, and in the produce fields of one company, and for odd jobs around a hardware store. In the service establishments, requiring sales help, the information reveals that within the recollection of present owners and managers, only 11 Indians have ever been hired, and that all except two of them were fired for some kind of incompetency. The firms having had experience with native help included 3 grocery stores, a garage, a hardware store, a jeweler's, a paint shop, a dry goods store, a trading shop, a 5 and 10 and an auto parts shop. The employment agency had also made contacts for some young Indian field laborers but very seldom for any other types of wage earners, either male or female.

"We do not feel that the survey misses the mark. It is true that most Indians are better adapted to job labor than to office or sales work. At the same time it must be remembered that a large number of the younger people have had a high school education, but that a few have been to college and that many have taken special vocational training. In point of preparation these younger Indians do not suffer by comparison with their white school mates. All other things being equal one would expect to find a greater number of them employed as clerks and helpers in the business enterprises of what is, geographically at least, their home town. Their records, and the reactions of proprietors are not reassuring. The plain fact exists that there are very few Indian wage earners in Toppenish. The inference therefore is that all other things are not equal."

The statements of employers were monotonously the same: the Indian doesn't want to work even if he is given a job, and he doesn't apply for work. The latter part of this statement has is undoubtedly true, and so is the first part in many cases; but the reasons are not so simple as is implied. The assertion of unwillingness to accept employment has a defensive ring about it. The Indian is not always at fault by any means. Many educated Indians have too their embitterment (sic) that mere technical preparation is not the only qualification for employment. They are frequently thwarted in the beginning by the prevalent tendency to lump all Indians together into one deplorable ~~taxonomy~~ category of undesirable men. Whites almost automatically attribute the worst that they know about any Indian to the whole group. This attitude does not further employment possibilities. Indian graduates of local high schools, vocational schools and even of Haskell and Carlisle, have found that although they may be competent mechanics carpenters, plumbers and book keepers they are seldom wanted and always have to wage uphill struggle against the original skepticism of their worth. The Indian community offers no outlet for their capabilities; therefore they subside into the limbo of the aimless discontented, unemployed reservation Indian. In other words they "return to the blanket." Parents who have experienced this disillusionment not frequently discourage their children going to school or acceptance of an apprenticeship. What is the use? It is a waste of time, and unpleasant.

The future offers no better prospects. In fact, now that the war is drawing a number of young people away from the reservation and teaching them trades in defense industries and throwing them into new associations with white men, there is every reason to believe that the situation will be aggravated. These young men and women in war plants and in the army will come to know, and strive to adapt themselves to our patterns of social existence. They will be imbued of necessity to some extent at least with our ideals and values. In our present fervor for unity and cooperation in the national war effort we want them alongside us in the ranks and in the factories, but this democratic spirit will not survive the crisis. When the war is over and there is a tremendous slackening of industry we may confidently expect that the Indian, along with the members of other minority groups, will be among the first to feel the effects of a drop in the labor market. He will be released to give way to white men, and will of course return to his only refuge, the reservation. The office of Indian Affairs is aware of the inevitable, and already the Commissioner is concerned about it. In the report of the Secretary of the Interior for last year there is a section devoted to this problem; plans are already under way to save up reservation labor projects to take care of the influx of the unemployed. But this obviously is only a stopgap and hence does not meet the problem face to face. For these men and women rejected by the society that once accepted their services in a crisis, will return to a life in which there is no place for them either since they have outgrown it. The result will certainly then be, as after the last war, more widespread unrest and discontent than exists at present.

To return to other aspects of the economic adaptation of the reservation Indian it may be said that there is disillusionment in store for those who believe that his rural orientation has prepared him to accept the status of an energetic and reliable farm hand or employe. His past summer in the face of a serious shortage of fruit and vegetable pickers with exceptionally high wages (75 cents per hour) being offered the Indians were not interested. They were in fact, not even considered as potential rescuers of crops which rotted in the fields for lack of help. Calls were made upon every class and age group by whites by state, national and county officials, but the potential Indian labor pool was not touched. If they thought of it at all officials doubtless felt that an appeal would be futile, and there is nothing in past experience to indicate the contrary. It would seem that in the past, say 20 years ago, Indians were a more reliable source of farm labor than they are now. In those days orchardists and other planters were accustomed to contract with alleged chiefs to bring their bands of followers in for the harvest. The custom no longer exists to my knowledge and transient white laborers have taken the place of the Indian in the orchards and vegetable fields.

The only exception to this generalization has to do with the harvesting of hops. Since 1880 Indians have been employed to pick this crop, not only in the Yakima area but in the Puget Sound district as well. In the final decades of the last century agency superintendents were annually alarmed at the general exodus from the reservations to hop fields. Today there are many acres of hops cultivated on the reservation and Indians are sought after as pickers. They are contacted well in advance, and while a position answer(sic) one way or the other is hard to elicit, they regard this activity as part of their annual cycle and appear in family groups to form a large encampment in near by fields. His past summer they received 4 cents per pound, the highest ever. Some families made as much as \$10 per day, but even this was not a compelling incentive. Hop owners found that the labor shortage was ruinous, even though many used machines. Indians were noticeably absent from the fields. Quite as important as the money to them is the large gatherings to gossip, play and gamble much after the ancient food gathering excursions. The fire shortage in a late bearing season and other diversions were in part responsible for the poor turnout of Indian hop pickers this year.

Income Summary

By way of summing up this discussion of the economic activities of the Yakima the following table is appended. It is taken from the agency report upon the income of the Indians from 1940, the last for which such statistics are available (see next page). The size of these figures is likely to give a false impression as unending prosperity of the Indian. They do not tell us the really significant thing, which is what the individual family income is. This is very difficult to get. Indians like other people are suspicious and reluctant to yield to an exhaustive inquiry of this sort. There are perhaps 4 to 5 families on the reservation who have an income of between \$4,000 and \$5,000. These are the most energetic of the cattlemen. A few individuals receive between \$1,500 and \$1,800 a year from all sources, but they certainly are not typical.

1-Income from public funds

| kind of income | No. individual recipients | No. of persons benefiting | Amt of value provided |
|--|---------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|
| A-Direct assistance | 212 | 789 | \$24,299 |
| 1-Farm security | 77 | 308 | 3,689 |
| 2-Social security | 35 | 81 | 17,110 |
| 3-Surplus commodity | 100 | 400 | 2,500 |
| B-Wages, Govt. work | 512 | 1,316 | 99,639 |
| 1-Work projects | 286 | 447 456 | 55,369 |
| 2-Irregular service | 226 | 860 | 44,000 |
| C-Gov't aid through institutions, hospital etc | 10 | 10 | 3,538 |
| totals | 734 | 2,115 | \$126,476 |

II All other income

| source | money | non-money |
|--|-----------|-----------|
| A-Income from agriculture, net | \$222,340 | \$45,328 |
| B- Other labor | 182,820 | 86,276 |
| 1-Own operations | 55,761 | 66,276 |
| a-Firewood, consumed and sold | 21,436 | 18,423 |
| b-Wild life activities | 43,325 | 18,685 |
| 1-Fish 450,000 lbs | 30,000 | 15,000 |
| 2. Pelts (400) | 4,000 | |
| 3-Game birds (8,000*) | | 2,400 |
| 4 Big game food | | 600 |
| (8,000 pounds) | | |
| 5- Big game hides (60) | | 60 |
| 6-Wild fruits and berries | 125 | 625 |
| c.Arts and crafts | | 2,295 |
| d.Canned & dried foods | | 26,864 |
| C Employment | 127,059 | 20,000 |
| 1-Regular Indian Service | 17,059 | |
| 2-Non Indian employers | 100,000 | |
| D- Unearned individual income | 263,576 | |
| 1-farming leases | 202,729 | |
| 2-Grazing leases | 60,847 | |
| E-Group enterprise, distributed to individuals | 758 | |
| 1-Timber sales | 758 | |
| 2-Leases | 191 | |
| Totals | \$669,494 | \$131,804 |

The average income is far below this, perhaps around \$350 a year. Even in cases where it is possible to obtain accurate figures on individual incomes they are likely to be misleading. The pooling and sharing of incomes is quite common. Sometimes a husband and his wife and even a dependent child are all recipients of rental moneys. Indians are inveterate spongers and indigent families of all sizes frequently live with relatives who have cash income so that a knowledge of the latter provides us with no reliable check upon its per capita utilization.

One of the most prosperous Indian farmers is a hog raiser, and the only one. He has been in this business for forty years and has good credit, too good, for a "partner" in Yakima contracts for his produce each year and advances him cash and states so freely that he seldom does more than break even at harvest. He has netted as much as \$6,000 a year on hogs; last year he made a profit of \$1,500; the year before \$2,000. This year he contracted for 6 tons at 29 cents, a figure a surplus for 4 tons for the open market. He figured a \$3,000 net at the middle of the season, but a later check up found him less sanguine. Labor costs were high, and he had to allow for the payment of two sons, one of them married, living with him and working for him. All things considered it is doubtful whether he made a profit of more than a few hundred dollars. In addition to hogs he had 9 acres of wheat (limited) 2- acres of good barley and an alfalfa yield of 200 tons, not for sale. He had 60 range cattle which he planned to feed (sic (feed) during the winter, and the grain was to be stored for hogs to be bought in the fall and fattened for sale. He was obliged to support, his wife, his two sons and the wife and child of one, a daughter, a granddaughter, and a son-in-law not to mention numerous relatives who may drop in for indefinite visits. His married son works on the farm full time and may be considered a partner. His son has no farming land, but owns a timber allotment. The youngest son (28) has no land and is one of the typical sporadic workers. Last winter he trapped and earned \$300 on beaver pelts; during the summer he fished at Chillico in June and September, but returned home to help with the haying in July. The farm of this family is a large one. It comprises 200 acres, two half sections of which were original allotments of the father and mother and 40 acres of which fell to them on the death of an eldest son.

Indigents

This man does as well as many white farmers. His net profit in cash is not large but he is by no means faced with starvation, nor can he be evicted from his land. At the other end of the scale are a great number of families who do not till the soil or maintain their own homes, and who do not have a steady income from any source. It is difficult to understand how they survive. They are able to do so only at a low economic level and by brazenly living off their friends and relatives. A few individuals among them are eligible for relief assistance from the state or federal government. Welfare agencies of the two governments work hand in hand to take care of certified cases of need. The state of Washington is to be congratulated for its cooperation in this matter, as in others pertaining to Indian welfare and advancement. No distinction is made between Indian and white indigents, and the state employs a social worker for full time work with the Yakimas. Her office is at the agency in Toppenish.

Indians, like whites, are entitled to several types of benefits. The federal government matches state money to provide for four categories of dependents. The aged and the infirm are provided for old age and blind pensions. Relatives who care for them or orphans of other children who have been abandoned by their fathers or their mothers can obtain financial assistance through the aid of the Dependent children organization. The child welfare division arranges for the support of homeless children who have been taken in as members of the household in qualified families. In addition to these federally assisted agencies there are two which are state sponsored. Their activities interlock with those of the national and local governments in relief programs. Money for general assistance cases helps the country with its burden of taking care of the poor, and under the work relief program those who are temporarily unable to find employment are given financial aid or are certified for WPA.

It should be stressed at this time that the government does not support the Indian. The policy of bestowing gratuities upon him ceased many years ago. Even though the treaty with the Yakimas stipulated that compensation was to be paid for the land relinquished by them in the form of goods to be distributed equally among them annually, this provision was never carried out. From the beginning and up until the time the debt was considered extinguished individual Indians were required by the agent to work for their annuities on the theory that they could not otherwise be made to understand the value of labor. It is to be regretted that this policy has not borne more or better fruit, but it remains true, nonetheless that the government has not in the past or does it now subsidize its Indian wards. Widely current beliefs to the contrary probably arise from the manner in which the unearned incomes of certain Indians are handled. Aside from those who are regarded as competent to make their own leases all rental money for Indian lands are paid into the agency office in cash. Payments to the lessors are made by the individual money clerk, there but not in the same way. Some Indians are more provident than others and it has been found necessary to take account of this fact in disbursing their rental money. Roughly a fourfold classification has been made. For those who can look ahead and provide for themselves and their families for a year there are no restrictions; they may have their lease money for the year in a lump sum. Upon others some restrictions have to be placed, especially if they are in the habit of demanding large amounts at a time for unwise expenditures. In a third class are the drunkards and others who cannot be relied upon to support their families; ~~xxx~~ they are given a small amount of cash each month and ~~income~~ in some cases practically none at all.

In that event the superintendent is obliged to give them food and clothing and orders only. A merchant in town may accept these orders with the assurance that he will be paid directly by the agency; and it is this in particular which has led some towns people to assume that the Indians are provided for by the federal government. The fourth category that of incompetents are the minors. Some children have accumulated deposits as much as \$6,000 or \$8,000. This is held in trust for them as capital. From it they can receive only \$25 per quarter for their subsistence while they are pre school age minors, and even when they attain their majority they may not have the entire sum. If an investigation reveals that capital is needed to buy a house or equipment part of the trust fund is released for specified purposes but not otherwise.

Indian Enterprise

From the foregoing it is clear that the Indian lives on a protected fringe of the white man's economic world. He participates in its advantages under tutelage but shies away from the struggle for survival which keeps it going. He contributes little or nothing to the national wealth, and therefore, is economic deadwood. A noteworthy instance of his failure to accommodate himself to our commercial world. The attempts that have been made at this are few enough to be counted as outstanding exceptions. The most remarkable instance occurred with the establishment of the American State Bank at Wapato. Both its stockholders and its officers are largely Indian; most of them from a prominent mixed blood family. The cashier an Indian, received his education at Whittier College in Indiana and worked for a banking house in Chicago for 5 years. He later returned to Yakima and was bank cashier for 23 years; in 1917 he entered the banking business in Wapato. The success of this enterprise has been a creditable achievement, worthy of commendation, especially so in view of its uniqueness.

In 1880's ~~there were~~ before there were any stores or traders on the reservation, two of the head men of the Yakimas converted their homes into small hardware and dry goods stores. Their prices were exorbitant and their stocks limited; and the Indians preferred to make the long trip to Yakima to get their supplies. Later, with the opening up of the Toppenish town-site, two of three of the women who had married white men and whose allotment relinquishments were responsible for the foundation of the town opened hotels, boarding houses and stores. Their children were among the first to set up blacksmith shops, livery stables, and meat markets. Before long, however, these tentative efforts gave way under the pressure of white aggressiveness and domination. We were unable to find an Indian proprietor in Toppenish in 1942. There does remain the recollection of a mixed blood manager of a grocery store who a few years ago conducted the business in a capable manner.

Today in White Swan two Indians (mixed blood) are in business for themselves. Both are blacksmiths, and both complain that they barely make a living. There is a lively trade in this business nonetheless, and neither smith is without steady customers. One other Indian venture in this town is recalled. An Indian and his wife shortly after the last war opened a meat market. He had learned the butcher's trade in the army and his wife was a shrewd, capable and ambitious full blood.

Social Conditions

The Indian Community

No observant person can walk the streets of Topeka for an hour and not fail to note a distinct element of the population. Indian women are immediately recognizable in their shawls and moccasins, their long flowered "wing" dresses (a pattern copied from the old buckskin garment), their handbags and leather belts, and their typical headgear, a handkerchief tied around the head. Their husbands too, wear moccasins, and they further set themselves off from all others in the diversified crowds by their long hair braids and tall broad brimmed hats. These features of dress, together with other reactionary standards, constitute admitted symbols of apartness, consciously and defiantly indulged in as marks of the true Indian. There is an appreciable number of these conservatives, colloquially referred to as "long hairs," and they testify to the existence of a community within a community which is distinctly Indian, albeit much attenuated and adulterated in the course of the past 80 years of white contact. This, though, is not the entire picture. Not all people of Indian parentage dress in this manner. Some of them are not to be distinguished from Mexicans by the untrained eye, and there are still others of the mixed blood class who could pass as southern Europeans in cosmopolitan centers. A little over half of those on the agency rolls, which lists all Indian wards of the government, are mixed bloods of one degree or another. The extent of their participation in Indian life is exemplified by those described in the first paragraph as highly variable and is rather closely correlated with the proportions of Indian and white blood in their veins. Some of them are eclectic with regard to the ideology of the conservative nucleus; that is, they are without conviction but are Indians when it suits their convenience for purposes of argument, privilege, or rationalization.

Indeed the majority of them have taken up a vacillating defensive stand somewhere in the ambiguous zone between the native patterns and the white simply to dissociate themselves from things Indian and regard themselves as white men, even though this view is not fully shared by those with whom they would like to be identified. To complicate matters there are some full bloods who tend to depart from traditional attitudes, and there is a fair number of mixed bloods who are truculently reactionary. Since neither of them is accepted by the non progressive full blood element they are likely to veer into other recalcitrant courses.

The truth is that the ~~Kaiyaka~~ ^{Kaiyaka} are a far from homogeneous group either culturally or biologically. They do not present a united front on any issue. While they must accept their definition as Indian on racial grounds (because they cannot avoid it often times) they do not regard themselves as all the same kind of Indians. The rift between the conservatives and the progressives is the most persistent cause of discord. Typically this resolves itself into a difference of outlook on the part of full bloods and mixed breeds; and in the latter category we must take account not only of Indian and white admixtures, but also of Indian-Mexican, Indian-negro, Indian-Japanese and Indian-Philippine crossing, of which there are a sufficient number to be significant.

From the Bull blood's point of view these hybrids, and especially those of Oriental or "negroid" parentage, are contemptible; they use the term half-breed as a reproach and readily assign to it the worse of implications.

Non-racial cleavages also tend to become aligned on the progressive issue in addition to weakening Indian solidarity on their own accounts. There are, for example, two native cults on the reservation which are incompatible with each other, and they suffer besides a progressive conservative split within themselves. Group differences are also manifest at times among the descendants of the 14 original tribes assembled on the reservation in 1856 with a noticeable tendency on the part of the indigenous tribes to be more resistant to suggestions of change. More recently developed interests come into conflict, too. Those with timbered allotments or with valuable improved land may find their best interests opposed or disregarded by others less favorably endowed on questions of sale, redistribution, grazing privileges, and so on.

All of this means that there is no Indian community in the social sense. For a community is something more than a concentration of population or a cluster of dwellings. The term implies a unity of thought a group-shared ideological basis for judgment and behavior. The Yakimas have no such common denominator in their thinking. Rather, there are several communities of thought overlapping and conflicting with each other and stultifying any urge for unified action. Officials who have attempted to organize clubs and cooperative enterprises among them report that it is almost impossible. They are mutually suspicious, critical, and uncooperative among themselves. This situation has been the result in part of deliberate policy; not malicious to be sure, but as an administrative aid in "civilizing" the Indian.

Aboriginally the people now known as the Yakima lived in a number of villages scattered along the banks of many large and small streams tributary to the Columbia over a much greater territory than is now reserved for them. The villages varied in size from one to fifty dwellings and contained populations ranging from the extreme of a few households to 1,500 persons. An average village was composed of perhaps 150 to 200 people. The dwellings were of all sizes, too, some of them being as much as sixty feet long and designed to house as many as fifty or sixty individuals. Along some streams the line of habitations was almost unbroken, but, there were nodes in the string and conceptually each village was a separate political and social entity. Each had its chief and could act independently of the others, although normally the smallest groups acted in concert with larger adjacent villages, and in times of crisis many of them voluntarily united under one common forceful leader. In any event the circumstances were favorable for maintaining group standards. Intimate daily contact between individuals within and without the village fortified the bonds of family and community, disseminated a common fund of knowledge, kept alive the group spirit, and increased the pressure of an omniscient public opinion.

With the establishment of the reservation these important phenomena of community life were seriously disturbed. The administrative ideal was to break up the aboriginal village clusters by settling their constituent families upon individually assigned portions of land. The immediate objective was to introduce farming and the sedentary life. At the same time it is clear that this move was just one aspect of the more comprehensive attempt to destroy the ideological core of Indian life. The aim was not phrased in these terms and it may be that the farmers and administrators of policy in those days did not always clearly see the issue. It is certain that they did not foresee the consequences of their success in estranging individuals from the aboriginal community. As a result of their efforts there has been a progressive narrowing of the dimensions of the latter, a lessening of the numbers of individuals participating in it, and a growing repudiation of its ideals. But concomitantly there has been a crumbling of its controls and sanctions until today there is no longer an Indian society. The disintegration of the old forms has not been accomplished by the hoped for reconstruction of assimilation into the white man's community and the result is an aggregation of unbanded individuals without ideals or directives, and beyond the reaches of any effective control, Indian or white. Today family ties are weak, except when they operate to the advantage of the claimant; there is a minimum of community feeling, except when it serves to advantage in exaggerating demanding special privilege or as a shibboleth to condemn the white man; knowledge of what others are doing and thinking spreads only by uncertain and faulty means; and finally, and most importantly, public opinion, the master mechanism of social control, is ineffective since there is little unity of feeling and no techniques for expressing that which does exist.

The ultimate has not yet been reached. The disintegration of group life has not proceeded so far among the Yakimas as it has among some other tribes such as those along the coast. For one thing they remained in isolation much longer. For another, they have practically all memorized their treaty stipulations and are quick to point out the everlasting guarantees contained in it. Then finally, the Yakimas were one of the groups in the Northwest who took stubborn refuge in the tenet of a native cult which adjures them not to abandon their native customs.

This cult, known as the Tom Pom religion, is the key to the persistence of most of what remains of aboriginal life. Meetings are regularly held on Sundays through most of the winter when the people are at home, in buildings called long houses by the whites. There are three of them, one each near the towns of Toppenish, White Swan and Wapato. Their significance is greater than appears from a glance at their uninspiring unkept exteriors. They are one of the few remaining concrete symbols of community life. Aboriginally any large house which would accommodate a crowd was used for both secular and religious meetings; there was no distinction of type or function. But today there are no house clusters corresponding to the village; there are no Indian towns or hamlets on the reservation.

The people are widely scattered on their lands over an area which extends approximately 40 miles in an east and west direction and 25 miles to the north and south. Their home sites are interspersed with the farms of white people in an indiscriminate fashion (see map) (no map appended). They cannot meet and greet their friends in daily association. But a last vestige of the ancient villages is preserved in the isolated Long Houses, and around them is centered an attenuated survival of village life. In form they are the direct descendants of the aboriginal dwellings, modified replicas in lumber of old all purpose mat structures. They are ~~xxx~~ spoken of as churches today by the Indians, and a religious sanction has certainly been the strongest force operating to perpetuate their existence. At the same time they are the focus of other activities exclusively Indian. In them and on the camp grounds about them are held feasts, games, councils and all manner of holiday celebrations to suit the Indian taste. These functions provide for a periodic renewal of social contacts between like minded individuals and give emotional satisfaction and support to those who are pleased to retreat into the security of the past. They are sponsored by the conservative faction and they consolidate ~~xxxxxxx~~ such unanimity of opinion and outlook as still persists within it.

It must be remembered, however, that while this group is the best organized and most effective element on the reservation it can not claim the whole hearted support of even the majority of the Indians. Many of the older full bloods do not go near the long houses and among the younger people and the mixed bloods a large proportion have no direct knowledge of what goes on there. Their contacts with each other are irregular, more casual, without shared purpose or emotional content. For them there is no common cause, no rallying standard or credo. The members of the Shaker Church, another nativistic cult, might claim exception to this. Like the Pom Pom adherents they are defiantly Indian but their quasi Christian dogma gives them no common ground for cooperation with the more outright pagan sect. In fact, these two faiths are actively antagonistic.

The policy of village dissolution has therefore had some profound effects. Segregation upon farms has not only eliminated the outward aspects of village life; it has also destroyed its spirit by contrasting the sphere of community enterprise and participation. That which remains today is severely reactionary and unappealing to most of the Yakimas. And they have not been encouraged to, nor have they developed any devices for, the consolidation of a more progressive set of ideals. There are no Indian granges, for example, nor any purely Indian trading or commercial centers on the reservation. The makeshifts that have evolved for the dissemination of news and the exchange of opinion are poor substitutes for the frequency, the intimacy and the variety of social contacts among village members. The congregations at the summer berrying and fishing grounds, the chance meetings around the agency offices in Topeka, and the casual contacts in the city parks, pool halls and other loafing spots in town are not calculated to create a solid body of Indian opinion of any sort. The emphasis upon self sufficiency which has

accompanied the policy of establishing independent family units on farms has also borne its fruits. The Yakima are today an aggregation of individuals with an extreme diversity of interests. There is nothing which is comprehensively Indian in their mode of thought or behavior; that is, nothing typically and exclusive Indian that characterizes them all. Their exclusion from the white community throws them into an arbitrary category; but the binding force is external. It constrains; it does not unify.

The question of racial prejudice inevitably comes up in discussing this matter of an Indian community. There are white people in daily contact with the Indians who stoutly affirm they have no prejudices against them. There is no intention here to malign their sincerity. There may be a few individuals to whom this protestation is not merely a vindication of their "broad mindedness" and who are prepared without conscious hesitation to treat the Indian on a par with their white associates. Their number cannot be large or significant. Most whites consciously exclude Indians from the category of normal "human beings" they are a special brand of men of uncertain status but clearly not members of the local civic and social world. Many whites frankly admit to this attitude when it does not jeopardize their economic welfare. Others--among them may be found the "educated" and the "intellectuals"--are sincere in their claim to impartiality, but they are easily shaken from their complacency by an inquiry as to whether they would accept a marriage proposal from an Indian or permit such a match between their sons and daughters and Indian boys and girls.

In the final analysis it cannot be denied that racial prejudices do exist on and about the Yakima reservation, even among whites who have no compunction about claiming true Indian friends. That the antipathy is not so marked as it is toward negroes in the south is not to the point. The Indian and the white man are separated by a chasm of cultural cleavages, and these no less than color are effective barriers of unrestricted intercourse between the two races. The white community and the Indian aggregate of souls called the Yakimas are worlds apart. Each is suspicious and likely to be resentful of the other. The occasions of an overt conflict have been greatly reduced, and the Indian is cowed by white pretensions of superiority; but this has not eradicated the profound sense of difference felt by members of both groups. Both have their justifiable grievances and we are not here concerned with an adjudication of them. The fact remains that the two worlds seldom fuse or mingle, and when they do it is to the main pain of both. The most distressing instances are those of Indians who attempt to bridge the cultural gap by intermarriage with white men, or more rarely with white women. They well know by experience how wide and deep it is, and because they are often sensitive and thoughtful individuals they find little happiness in their boldness. They and their hybrid offspring straddle two ways of life, and this is not easy. Some crack under the strain to become drunkards or ne'er do wells, or they build and retire into a world of their own making.

It avails little to protest that the Indian has his political freedom. He can vote. All Indians were enfranchised in 1927, and the Yakimas long before that. But they do not vote except in a few distinctly unusual cases, and the reason is simple. They are not interested in what the whites do for they feel that they have no real part in such activities, political or otherwise. The present war situation brings this out clearly. Most Indians have radios, and surprisingly they follow the war news. But not because they feel that they have a part of the whole struggle. They definitely do not. Most of the older people are outspokenly resentful of the draft and talk cynically of Japanese attacks on the Yakima valley. They are prone to regard the whole affair with the detached air of a spectator. It is a good show, but they have no part in it, or would have none. They speak not of "us" or "our side" but of the Japs, Germans and Americans. They are truly men without a country.

Furthermore, there is no reason to believe that this feeling will be mollified by their sons' participation in the war. In fact it is more probable that upon the termination of the conflict when men return to the reservation--as they almost certainly will ~~be~~ in large numbers---resentment will turn to bitterness and disillusionment on the part of both the young soldiers and defense workers and their parents. A sacrifice without a spiritual reward is a vanity, and these men do not feel that they have a stake in democracy to begin with. Later they will feel that they have been used, and the more so when they find that the only return from the wars for them is a return to reservation life, a pattern into which they will fit even less than before. A few years of free association among equals and acclaim as a hero ill prepares a man for a lifetime of social and economic determination. And that holds for all Indians as well as for the members of other minority groups who live a detached untouchable existence.

Tribal Government

Under aboriginal conditions the village was theoretically the politically autonomous unit. Each village had its own chief and its members acknowledged no higher authority nor any more inclusive concept of the state. The chief exercised considerable power, but it was delegated to him by the unanimous consent of all of his adult followers. His office was hereditary within a given family line but since a number of lineal and collateral relatives were eligible in the choices of a successor the selection of one of them by unanimous approval was taken to be an enduring vote of confidence in his ability as a wise leader and judge. In matters affecting individuals he therefore made decisions more or less arbitrarily; but when the issue concerned the entire village all of its members were called into consultation.

Temporary alliances between villages granting the same kind of leadership over all to the chief of one of them also occurred in times of crisis. This happened during the difficulties with the whites in the 1850s; and so it came about that there were only 14 chiefs and their tribes recognized in the treaty of 1855 between the United States and the so-called Yakima Nation. This treaty further provided that one of the men should be regarded as the head chief and as the official representative of all the Indians agreeing to take residence on the reservation.

Actually, the native governmental machinery remained undisturbed and the head chief merely a spokesman and an intermediary between the white officials and the several distinct local groups. Members of the latter continued to meet separately with their respective chiefs to discuss proposals affecting group policy (effecting in copy changed by typist) and their several decisions were represented in a general meeting of all the Indians by their pledged leaders. The head chief merely ascertained the predetermined wishes of the assembled groups and presented them boldly to outsiders.

By the treaty terms the head chief was to receive a stipend from the government until a certain number of years had passed. With the expiration of this period and the demise of one strong leader in 1905 this non-essential office gradually lost its importance and ceased to play a part in the administrative complex. The fundamental elements of the old system continued to function but from an official point of view this arrangement was unsatisfactory ~~until~~ since it yielded only factional opinions. The Office of Indian Affairs felt the necessity of insisting upon the organization of a governing body which would represent the interests of all the Yakimas and this proposal was made to them by their superintendent in a general meeting in 1932. At their suggestion it was decided that a tribal council of 14 members should be formed. Each of the 14 councillors was to be a descendant of one of the chiefs signing the treaty of 1855. No further organization ~~plan~~ or plan of procedure was decided upon.

This is the official administrative body on the reservation today. Its ties with the past are evident. Its members are chosen from the traditional families by the descendants of the particular bands which were recognized in the treaty. One concession is made to the modern requirement that the councillors represent the whole of the Yakimas is that all of the Indians have to vote ratification of the selections made by the 14 bands. In some instances other nominations have been made in the general meeting but the force of tradition is strong and the same 14 families have always managed to maintain their privilege of providing candidates. Presumably the councillors are elected for life. At least no provision ~~xxxx~~ has been made for their retirement. In the past 10 years the same 14 men have composed the council with the exception of one who resigned because of ill health and four replacements on account of deaths. Upon several occasions there have been peevish threats of resignation over some issues personally, but as yet nothing has come of such grumblings.

Other linkages with the past vitiate the efficiency of the council and militate against the standardization of its rules of procedure. Furthermore, its status and its legislative powers are ambiguous. In most matters affecting the tribe the council members act in accordance with their own best judgments. But upon some issues they are unwilling to take the responsibility of making a decision. Upon these occasions they prefer to call a general meeting of all the Indians.

But before this takes place the different bands meet with their respective councillors as they used to do with their chiefs, to talk the proposal over and arrive at a decision in advance. Once this has been settled upon they all attend the general meetings to vote ~~en bloc~~, and no argument will persuade them to deviate from their pre determined stand. The meeting takes place in one of the Long Houses and is usually well attended. As in times past it is an attractive social event lasting most of the day or night with an intermission at an appropriate time for a feast. There are no well established rules for procedure in the deliberations. The councilmen take their places at a table in the center of the large room while the rest of the tribe seat themselves along its walls. A chairman pro tem is informally chosen from among the councillors. Another is asked to serve as secretary, or for important meetings the agency superintendent is asked to provide a stenographer. An interpreter is necessary, for the discussion is carried on in both English and Yakima. The meeting is prolonged on this account, and also because anyone may speak and may do so at length. Finally a vote is taken, and again the conservatism of the controlling element in Yakima tribal affairs is manifest; the secret ballot is not tolerated, and a person must stand to have his vote counted.

It is the policy of the present federal administration to encourage initiative among the Indians. To that end the Wheeler-Howard act was passed by Congress in ~~1934~~ 1934 enabling any Indian tribe to become semi-autonomous by a vote of all its members. Its acceptance gave the tribe the right to petition for charters of incorporation for the economic development of its resources, restrict the sale of its surplus lands, extend the trust period on allotments, acquire additional tribal lands, participate in various loan benefits, and establish self government by setting up a constitution and bylaws acceptable to the majority of its adult members. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs was extremely desirous of instituting this plan on every reservation, but the Yakimas were violently opposed to it and rejected it by a two to one vote. There were various reasons for this, but chief among them were the suspicions that the act was intended to supersede the treaty of 1855 and jeopardize the rights guaranteed therein; that it provided an opening wedge for the mixed bloods and others who had lost their property rights to regain a foothold; and that the secret balloting it stipulated would abet (sic) these evils. The furor caused by the Indian department's drive to put the measure across culminated in an almost fanatical opposition to any kind of formal tribal organization. The very suggestion of a "constitution and by-laws" in a meeting today is enough to disrupt it.

The result is that the tribal council of 14 men moves informally along through traditional channels to effect its ends.

The agency superintendent has labored over several years to get its members to bidd themselves to some clear-cut rules of procedure, jurisdiction and organization. They now have a permanent chairman and a secretary; they have also agreed that a quorum of 8 must be present to transact business, that a show of hands must be called for in making decisions, and that the majority vote prevails. Much still remains to be accomplished from an official standpoint to make the council a smoothly functioning representative study.

The council meets irregularly upon the call of its chairman. During the early summer of 1942 there was a meeting almost every week. Customarily the superintendent submits a memorandum of the items calling for attention and these are introduced by the chairman, but any member may bring up a question. Discussions are carried on almost exclusively in the native tongue. The council room is adjacent to the superintendent's office and when his advice or explanation is deemed necessary an interpreter is called; likewise for any white official or informant. The meetings are open and anyone may attend and listen. They are not supervised by the agent. A few years ago the councillors felt that he must be present before they could proceed but he has disabused them of this idea on the theory that they must be put upon their own resources, work out their own problems, and "learn of their mistakes."

The division of authority between superintendent and council is not clearly defined. He does not exercise a privilege of vote. Perhaps he does not have explicit authority to do so. The question has not arisen for the council looks to him for guidance and its members are if anything over cautious and conservative. Its decisions are subject to the approval of the secretary of the Interior if they involve the disposition of trust property; otherwise it appears to be free to legislate on all matters affecting the tribal welfare. During the past summer it considered one proposal to establish a conscientious objectors' camp on the reservation and another to build a telephone line across it. It also settled upon the grazing fee to be charged white stockmen. The tribal fund of approximately \$250,000 (obtained mostly from grazing leases) is controlled by the council with congressional approval. About \$50,000 of this is earmarked as a loan fund for industrial purposes. It has been suggested that the remainder be spent to buy back reservation land now in the possession of white men or land now rendered practically useless through multiple ownership by a number of heirs. With that much decided the council is in doubt as to the next step; the repurchased land must be resold or as has been proposed, leased for 99 years to some worthy Indian. The trouble is that the council is faced with an almost insoluble problem on the land question; at least the federal government has not been able to solve it.

The councillors take the duties of their office seriously and are conscientious of them--which is worthy of remark among a people who characteristically avoid any kind of responsibility. They take pride in their positions, but it is not easy to understand why. It is true that they represent the only organized body of opinion on the reservation and therefore have the power to direct its fortunes. Doubtless, too, they have the support of many Indians who give them credit for being men of wisdom. The impression persists nevertheless that this following constitutes the minority.

It is made up of the conservatives, those who make a point of being Indian and who want to perpetuate their status and privileged isolation. A great number of Indians outside of this group do not hesitate to scoff at the council and its doings. They take no interest in its decisions, either being entirely indifferent to them or holding them up to ridicule as the vagaries of a group of ignorant, illiterate, narrow minded old men. Perhaps it need not be said that one frequently hears an expression of sentiment from white men who have had dealings with the council.

The majority of the Indians feel that they have nothing to do with what goes on in council meetings because their views are not represented in its deliberations. This is true. The council is composed almost entirely of full blood elderly conservatives who regard the treaty of 1855 as their constitution and are on the alert for any infringement of the rights guaranteed them by it. They make no compromise with the changed conditions of the past 80 years, and very often, as individuals, do not comprehend the significance of the issues they deliberate in relation to the larger world about them. They intimidate their opponents in the general meetings and will not relinquish to the secret ballot their power to stare a man down as he votes. Half breeds are odious to them and can easily incur their enduring animosity; young full blood liberals are regarded as renegades and traitors. With neither the will nor the ability to organize themselves these political pariahs have no recourse to achieve their ends but to cultivate the personal favor and indulgence of individual members of the council. The decay and the inertia of the Indian community is here apparent. The mixed bloods do not have a chance politically, and the young full bloods have been roundly beaten.

A few years ago there was an attempt to oust the council. A young full blood of respectable family connections formed a protest organization called the Junior Tribal Council. It took its stand upon a platform calling for the formulation of a constitution and by-laws to regulate the processes of tribal government. The movement was short lived; those whose opinions it sought to consolidate were phlegmatic and uncooperative. Upon an appeal to the Indian Commissioner for recognition the leaders were told that their party must be accepted by a majority vote of the Indians it hoped to represent before it could receive official sanction. At a general meeting, attended by the aroused conservative party on mass and a scattering of others, the proposal was defeated by a vote of 175 to 25.

Social Control

The tribal council has in effect delegated its powers of social control to a Court of Indian Offenses. Specifically this means that there is an Indian judge, assisted by two Indian policemen who has the authority to bring Indian offenders on the reservation to justice upon properly endorsed complaints and to pass judgment upon them in accordance with the tribal code of laws. This code is comprehensive and is designed to take care of all cases not provided for by the state and national governments. It is necessary because the state and municipal authorities do not have the power to make arrests for law infractions committed on trust property (allotments) by Indians in other words, local laws binding upon the white citizens do not hold for Indians while on the reservation and because the federal courts accept jurisdiction for only the major crimes

of murder, manslaughter, rape, assault with intent to kill, assault with a dangerous weapon, arson, burglary, and larceny. These state and federal provisions alone leave the entire range of misdemeanors and many lesser offenses against person and property on the reservationx unregulated.

The frame work for the organization of Indian courts was provided for by a circular pamphlet entitled "Law and Order regulations Approved by the Secretary of the Interior" issued in 1935. The regulations were intended to apply to all reservations where the aboriginal controls were no longer effective and to all Indian Courts of Offenses organized to substitute for the loss. The jurisdiction of the court was to extend to any Indian offender on the reservation and over the offenses stipulated. With respect to these offenses its jurisdiction was to be concurrent and not exclusive of state and federal court jurisdiction; ie: the Indian Court was expected to deliver offenders to the other courts upon their request or consent. It was further provided that there should be one or more chief judges, at the discretion of the tribal council, whose duties were to be regular and permanent and for which compensation was to be given. There might also be two or more associate judges to be called when occasion required and paid per diem. Judges were to be appointed by the Commissioner subject to confirmation by a two thirds vote of the council, and were to serve four years. The right to challenge a judge whose competency might be jeopardized by a personal interest in a case, the right of trial by jury or of appeal to the full court, and the right of habeas corpus and bail were recognized. Records were to be kept and legal formalities adhered to by the use of formal written complaints, warrants, commitments and releases. No employe of the government was to interfere with or obstruct the court proceedings.

The law to be applied in the Indian court could be "any laws of the United States that may be applicable, any authorization of the Department of the Interior, or any ordinances or custom of the tribe not prohibited by federal laws" Further, "any matters not covered by applicable federal laws and regulations shall be decided by the Court of Indian Offenses according to the laws of the state in which the matter in dispute may lie."

Certain broad powers were to be left to the discretion of the Indian court. It was to be given authority to decide paternity cases and to give judgments directing the support of illegitimate children; to determine heirs and distribute property (by custom law if this be the rule; otherwise by state law if suit is brought by a claimant, except in the case of land and other trust property; and to review and attest the validity of wills not involving trust property if requested to do so. It was to be given jurisdiction over juvenile cases, to be heard in private at the discretion of the judge who might in lieu of a sentence assign the offender on probation to some responsible person or take other such action as may be deemed advisable. In addition to sentencing the court might further require payment in restitution for an injury inflicted upon a plaintiff and attach the defendant's trust money for this purpose and for court costs. A convicted person might be required to work for the tribal benefit, or be incarcerated, or in lieu of this pay a \$2 per day fine for the

period of the sentence. Maximum penalties for specific offenses were established, and in applying them the court was directed to exercise restraint, to take into account the past record, the criminal intent, the desire to make amends, and the resources and the needs of the dependents of the offender. Also, the court was to give serious consideration to the merits of probation for first offenders and of parole for violators who have served one half their sentence in good behavior. Finally, the tribal council was to decide whether custom law or state law should regulate the marriage and divorce of Indians, and if the former, to lay down rules and empower the Indian courts to act upon complaints of their violation. Likewise rules and the means of their enforcement were to be settled upon with regard to the adoption of children.

The specific ~~max~~ offenses to be charged by the Indian court officers and the maximum penalties in days of labor or fine or both to be assessed upon conviction for each was given as follows: Assault (5 days) Assault and Battery 180 days; carrying concealed weapon 30 days; abduction, 180 days; theft 180 days; embezzlement 180 days; fraud 180 days; forgery 180 days; roytotyion (sic) 30 days; disorderly conduct 30 days; reckless driving, 15 days and deprivation of car for 6 months; drunken driving & 90 days; malicious mischief, 180 days; trespass \$5 and damages; injury to tribal property 30 days; maintaining a public nuisance 5 days and removal of nuisance; liquor possession, sale, trade, manufacture, or transport, 60 days; cruelty to animals, 30 days; tribal game law violation 30 days; gambling 30 days; adultery 30 days; illicit cohabitation 30 days; prostitution 30 days; giving venereal disease to another 90 days and compulsory treatment; failure to support dependants 90 days for benefit of the dependents; failure to send children to school 10 days; contributing to the delinquency of a minor 180 days; bribery, 180 days; perjury, 180 days; false arrest 180 days; resisting arrest 30 days; refusing to aid an officer 10 days; escape 180 days; disobedience to court order 180 or 90 days, and violation of an approved tribal ordinance (sentence as provided).

The Yakima Court of Indian Offenses follows this plan with some simplifications and omissions. There is one judge, appointed for 4 years by the superintendent as the most suitable candidate of some 2 or three nominated by the tribal council. He is chosen for his rectitude and also for his knowledge of his people and their customs. He holds court once a week as a rule in the council room at the agency where he passes judgment upon offenders brought before him by one of the two Indian policemen. Witnesses may testify and be subpoenaed; but legal advocates are not permitted. The sessions are quite informal, but printed forms for complaints, etc. are used, the policeman acting as clerk. The agency has an arrangement with the municipal authorities in Topeka by which the government assumes the obligation of meeting the expense of Indian prisoners in the city jail. Often they are required to work on the grounds of the reservation sanatorium. Some of the offenses listed above requiring action by the tribal council before they can be considered offenses have not been given this status by the Yakima council. The killing of game out of season, and gambling for ~~max~~ example, are not illegal; and so far as could be determined no regulations regarding custom marriage and divorce (which is recognized)

have been established. Offenses in Toppenish and other points off trust property are outside the jurisdiction of this court. So are the major crimes, which are reviewed by the U.S. Commissioner in Yakima for indictments before the grand jury and tried in federal courts.

"With this battery of legal machinery and its technical coverage of the wide area of anti-social behavior it might be supposed that the Yakimas are perforce a law abiding people. Unfortunately this is far from the truth. No problem is more harassing, more expensive or seemingly more insoluble than the one of law and order among Indians on and off the reservation. No problem is more consistently ignored, precisely because it is so difficult and deep seated and impossible to cope with effectively. This dismal state of affairs is expectable when we realize that its real cause is the almost total disorganization of an anti-social attitude, and with the deterioration of social restraints the frequency of offenses against the rights and persons ~~maximal~~ of others is certain to increase. In a self-sustaining society we have a right to assume that the majority would soon dissolve and become extinct, or new patterns of control would be initiated to meet the demands of group living. But when there are nonetheless huddled together within an artificial boundary, as with the Yakimas, there is no reason to assume that most individuals will conform to arbitrary social patterns--and they do not.

This is not to say that a large proportion of the Yakimas are criminals. Most of the cases which come before the Indian and the local courts are directly anti-social at all;)sic@ the offender has done no harm to anyone but himself by his act, although behind his behavior may lie a record of utter disregard for the welfare of others. The situation was well summed up in a report upon law and order on the reservation in seven northwestern states in 1927: "Indian offenses are of a minor nature. Professional crime is exceptional. Homicide and other crimes of violence are usually associated with drunkenness. In the great majority of instances the offenses of Indians are special cases of what are commonly called vices; that is, acts of low moral tone that only under certain circumstances come into conflict with the law and become recognized crimes." (note) The last part of this statement is significant. It implies and it is a fact, that the offenses which come before the courts and which can therefore be officially tallied are few as compared with the actual number which take place. They are not so important in themselves, but they are symptomatic of social strains and unhealthy ferments. This is, of course, true of any people, but it is especially true of the Yakimas

 Note--Survey of Conditions of the Indians in the United States in hearings before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Indian Affairs of the United States Senate, 72nd Congress, S. Res. 79 and 308 (70th Cong.) and S. Res. 263 and 410 (71st Cong.) Washington, D.C., 1932, p. 14148.

In the study just cited it was found that of all the tribes visited by the investigating committee the Yakimas ranked second highest in number of enrolled members with court records. Nine Yakimas out of every 100 during the year 1929 had been arrested for some wrong doing. Whether (note) one considers this ratio high or not it must be placed in conjunction with the fact that it does not adequately indicate the number of infractions of the rules of behavior presumably laid down by the code of offenses previously summarized. Again, this statement does not refer to crimes of violence; it does hold for negligence and irresponsible behavior leading to the loss of peace and security of others. Field agents who know the Indian well come to take adultery, illicit cohabitation, non-support, drunkenness and disorderly conduct as a matter of course. These sub-standard situations are the regular thing, not the lapse of a few malefactors.

By far the greater number of infractions of the code coming to official notice are grounded in drunkenness. It is difficult to get statistics on the occurrence of simple over-indulgence, possession of conveyance of liquor, for these acts are frequently connected with other offenses which take precedence in the charge because of their gravity. The drunkenness which gets into court results from its flagrant appearance on the highway or city streets, or as the aggravating cause for assault, sex crimes or other serious offenses. These are the important facts from the standpoint of law enforcement; but for the social analyst the plain fact of inordinate and widespread drinking is more significant. Although the evidence is not conclusive it appears that most drinking takes place in town, or if on the reservation at social gatherings. The ~~makima~~ records of the police station show a far higher proportion of drinking cases than do those of the Indian court--which may, of course, be given more than one interpretation. During the three months of June, July and August of 1942 there were 170 Indian arrests made by the Tappanish police. Of these about ~~four~~ three fourths or 120 cases were for drunkenness, an average of 40 a month or well over one per day. In the 1942 annual statistical report upon the activities of the Indian court of offenses for the year 1941 only 29 cases of drunkenness leading to arrests for disorderly conduct are listed out of a total of 121 arrests made by Indian policemen on trust property. Four assault cases and one of reckless driving bring the score up to 34. Part of the explanation of the different ratio in the two courts is because liquor is obtained in town and drunk there immediately, part because a drinking Indian in town has to be on the streets if he is anywhere, and part because drunkenness on the reservation is seldom reported unless it results leads to the extreme discomfiture and annoyance of others. The last mentioned factor is operative not only on the reservation. While Indians display a great reluctance to file formal complaints, city and state police are inclined to ignore Indian drinking and brawling so long as whites are not annoyed by its excesses or shocked at its more serious consequences. This, in fact, is the complaint of agency officials.

(note) Ibid p 14147. First on the list were the Klamaths of Oregon with thirteen out of every hundred.

They feel they do not get sufficient cooperation from local authorities in enforcing liquor sale restrictions. They point to conditions a few years ago when several unscrupulous proprietors of off-premise sales permits were allegedly freely selling beer and wine to the Indians. The matter was eventually taken care up with the State Liquor Control board and these Indians, that, however, was only a minor leakage. At present Indians will have no difficulties getting whiskey rubbing alcohol and other noxious compounds at exorbitant prices whenever they please. Police authorities do not deny this. In a frank discussion they would probably admit also that bootleggers are neither diligently sought nor vigorously prosecuted. They do reiterate that liquor traffic with the Indians is exceedingly difficult to control. And it is.

The situation is not very different than the one which faced the federal authorities during national prohibition. Denial stimulates desire. Individuals in this situation pit their wits in a game with the enforcement officers. It is a game because the loser has nothing to lose, nothing of real values of honor or social prestige. The odds are all with the drinker who has no respect for the law and who takes a cheap pride in his ability to circumvent it. The federal field agent appearing now and then upon the scene cannot cope with even the variety of petty bootleggers, to say nothing of the fly-by-night vagrants with whom the Indians have learned to utilize as go-betweens. The game of hide and seek is not worth it. The problem goes deeper than mere detection and punishment. It is well appreciated by those who have to deal with these cases that jail is no deterrent to the Indian. It holds no horrors for him and incarceration does not stigmatize him. Spending a night in jail is no disgrace one sometimes accommodates there are more pleasant than at home--or what passes for it. The Tappanish city jail is, in fact, a minor social center for many Indians. Friends, relatives and sweethearts drop in there while in town to pay a visit to some temporary inmate; and when they wish to find who has not been home for several days, most Indians think at once of the likelihood of his being found in jail, and without shame. They might be a twinge of remorse, but no shame. There can be no doubt that the Indian drinks to get drunk, and this as quickly as possible for his reason he prefers strong spirits to either wine or beer. A contributing cause is the fact that he knows that he must drink what he buys at once in order to get his money's worth and avoid arrest for possession. In other words, a slightly intoxicated Indian with a bottle of whiskey is vulnerable on two counts: drunken he disposes of at least one of these in what he has come to regard as a normal form of recreation.

In the annual statistical report of the Indian court 81 cases out of 121 were cited for disorderly conduct. Practically always involved drunkenness. This number is over and above the 34 for which there was a special notation of drunkenness, and so presumably they did not involve drinking. This, however, is not certain, and since the situation is not further broken down we do not know what to make of it. Apart from this ambiguous category, the second most common offense as revealed by this record is simple assault, ie, physical violence or threat or violence to the person of another but not of an aggravated nature and without the intent to kill or maim with a weapon. Of these there were four only (compounded with drunkenness,) a very small percentage of the total. Likewise in number were the offenses against property, there being only 3 cases of theft.

It is significant that the more sophisticated crimes in this category such as fraud, embezzlement, forgery, and extortion do not appear. Yakima Indians have been convicted of one or another of these offenses in the past, but ~~xxxx~~ barely rarely. When they have been they were bound over to the state courts. It seems that the normal procedure in these instances is for the Indian court to relinquish jurisdiction even when the violation occurs on the reservation. That, at any rate, is the disposition of the present judge who expresses some reluctance to deal with such cases.

The graver crimes against the person likewise do not commonly appear on the docket of the Indian court. In 1940 one case of attempted rape upon a minor was disposed of. Murder is customarily handled entirely by the county and federal authorities, although Indian policemen work in close cooperation with them. In the summer of 1942 one Indian was murdered by a drunken Mexican and another found dead under mysterious circumstances in the hills. Another was severely stabbed by a Mexican. To what extent the attacks were aggravated remains to be determined. A more uncommon case developed when five Indians on a drinking party with a white man viciously stabbed him to death. According to the news release, prosecution of the case was handled by federal officers "because the Indians involved are federal wards and because the crime occurred on a federal Indian reservation." The dual basis for deciding jurisdiction is a matter to be returned to later.

The most flagrant omission in the Indian court record are those cases resulting from sex and domestic complications. In a court of this character which specializes upon minor offenses and which is more intimately acquainted with the violators, their outlook, and their backgrounds, and with presumably a greater concern for their welfare, one would expect to find a reflection of social conditions on the reservation. This does not seem to be the case. It needs no more than a short acquaintance with Indian family relations to corroborate the testimony of resident officials that adultery, illicit cohabitation, technical bigamy, non-support, and the transference of venereal disease are so common among the Indians as to cause no comment or embarrassment among them. The investigator must be prepared to find a bizarre variety of these technical violations in any extended family history. No count has ever been made of even those in progress at the present time and the task of doing so and of bringing violators into court would cool the reformatory ardor of almost anyone. In ~~short~~ a short time one domestic irregularity will engender another and another until such a complicated and ramifying set of relations is developed that their disentanglement would frequently create as many problems as it would solve.

A glance at the regulations approved by the Secretary of the Interior relative to the Indian court's jurisdiction (p. 55) will reveal that there is no lack of formally granted authority to prosecute these cases.

Yet none of the sex (except one of attempted rape) or domestic relations offenses listed in that authorization have appeared on the statistical summaries of the past two years. Two of the 1941 cases of assault were, however, charged against men for beating their common law wives. It may be that an analysis of the individual instances of disorderly conduct (B1 last year) would disclose the practice of using this charge for an euphemistic or catch-all coverage of domestic cases, but this is an allowance of desperation. The simplest explanation, and the one which seems to hold, is that these offenses are not brought before the court in any significant numbers.

It is interesting to note, for future reference, that some domestic complaints are brought to the superintendent for action. He has adjusted several non-support complaints by securing verbal agreements that a stipulated sum be deducted from the erring father's trust money for the support of his child, has advised on family disputes, made arrangements through informal verbal agreements for the placement of neglected or unwanted children etc. On the whole, however, except when there is an economic pinch in helping a wronged individual, few Indians want the interference of any outside authority in their family difficulties. Either they do not care, or they resent impartial dictation. They prefer to find their own solution, which normally is to do nothing. There is no dearth of querulous complaining and recriminations. A detached acquaintance with the moral code prompts many an avowal to do something about an offense within the family, but these righteous protestations seldom eventuate in action. Most Indians are like their ex-policeman whose niece was abandoned by her half-breed husband for her sister three years ago without formalities of a divorce or a remarriage. The uncle was appealed to and he "had a good idea to bring the deserter and technical bigamist into court; but while this idea has been maturing the second niece has had two children by her erstwhile brother-in-law.

In conformance with the recommendation contained in the approved framework for the operation of the Indian court, considerable leniency is shown in the punishment of offenders. The right of probation and parole is frequently exercised. The suspended sentence with a written pledge of good behavior is common, too. A brief analysis of the court's disposition of the cases appearing before it maybe of interest; and since the variation of from year to year is not great, the 1941 annual report may serve as a sample. A total of 114 cases are on record. Of these there were six arrests and convictions for assault. One sentence was suspended. The terms in jail imposed upon the others were 5, 22, 1, 8 and 90 days, with two places on probation for a period. Two jail breakers were sentenced to 31 days each. A case of theft was placed on probation. For one liquor law violator there was a sentence of 28 days. The afore mentioned case of attempted rape brought a 34-day term of imprisonment.

All of the remaining offenses come under the caption of disorderly conduct, most of which involved drinking. Out of 88 arrests in this category there were 12 dismissals, and 24 of those convicted were placed on probation after signing a pledge. The jail sentences ranged between 1 and 28 days each with the mode at the lower end of the distribution; 25 individuals served only one day in jail, 20 each served terms of 8 and 9 days. There were no fines imposed upon any of the violators for this year.

One aspect of the court leniency goes beyond technical bounds, but there seems to be a tacit understanding that necessity justifies it. The reference may be accorded the leniency of a suspended sentence on a pledge of good behavior if we are to accept the literal meaning of the conditions for agreement which read "and not having been sentenced to this court for any offenses, etc." There are several offenders nonetheless who have signed more than one such statement before the Indian court, although it may not be before the same judge.

An analysis of the character of offenders appearing before the courts is revealing. There can be no doubt from the records that the women are more law abiding than men. Of the 170 arrests made by the Toppenish police during the summer of 1942 only about 50 were women. Even this proportion is high if we may judge from the records of the Indian court. In them but one person in ten is a woman. We must remember, however, that the records fail to report upon the large number of sex and domestic entanglements; and in these affairs women are often of necessity co partners in crime with the men. As with themales, the most frequent offenses among females is drunkenness and brawling. Occasional these bouts develop into more serious outbreacking, as in the recent murder of a white man in Toppenish. A young woman was in the thick of the stabbing melee, which resulted in his death.

An age differential among the offenders is manifest also. Very few, only about six males out of every hundred, are minors. The proportion is about twice as high for under age females. On the other hand, a full 40 per cent of all offenses are by persons in their twenties. The proportions decrease sharply thereafter with an advance in age so that a bare 15 per cent are in their forties. These figures bear out the impression that the older Indians, as might be expected, are more settled and stable. It is from them that the familiar jeremiads upon the decadence of the modern world comes. There is evidence to show, however, that the correlation is not with the times as much as it is with youth; for these same righteous elders unwittingly disclose a none too restrained youth in the accounts of their own personal histories.

In this connection it is interesting to note the correlation between the degree of blood and the incidence of offending. From townspeople and others who live and work in the midst of the Indians one hears diverse opinions contrasting the moral soundness of the mixed breeds and the full bloods.

They were charged against 94 persons, making an average of 1.22 times in court per offender. To put it in what is perhaps a more socially significant way, 17 of the offenders, or 18 per cent of the 94, were repeaters. Fifteen of them made two appearances before the court in 12 months, one was apprehended 3 times, and two appearances before the court in 12 months, one was apprehended 3 times, and one for a fifth time. His record it should be remembered, is of the Indian court alone. As might be expected, upon inquiry at the Toppenish police station, it was found that the same names appeared again and again on the day book there and others, too. The police chief recalls ten or 12 individuals as "steady customers." The worst of these were jailed for drunkenness and disorderly conduct 5 or 6 times during a three month period in the summer of 1942.

The record of the five-time offender on the Indian court files shows that he was arrested, with his son, on January 13, 1940 for drunkenness and creating a disturbance in the home of another Indian, and for this he served 5 days in jail with the balance of his sentence suspended. On March 18th he was arrested on the same charge and served 8 days of a 10 day sentence. On July 13 a complaint at Celilo Falls led to his conviction on a charge of maintaining a public nuisance for which he was sentenced to 30 days in jail. This was suspended upon his signing a pledge of good behavior for one year and a promise not to return to Celilo Falls during the summer. On August 23rd he was arrested for violating his pledge and was committed to jail to work out his sentence. Finally on September 16 he was again committed to jail for disorderly conduct and served 25 days. Few were sorry and no one was surprised when the corpse of this man was found in the hills in September of this year. Although his record is not of the worst, his son bids fair to equal him. He too is a repeater in both Indian and municipal courts, having in three years been twice convicted of assault and battery upon his common law wife, three times convicted of drunkenness (twice in violation of pledges), and finally fined \$250 and deprived of his driving license for running down a pedestrian in the course of a drunken spree.

It would be pretentious to give further ~~concrete~~ concrete data upon the careers of these petty offenders and the nature of their offenses. We should like to have some reliable information upon the incidence of outbreking in particular families. The same family names appear with just about the same frequency in the court files as do the names of specific individuals, indicating that about 20 per cent of the families have been drawn into court by more than one of their number. Still this gives us no idea of the proportions of consistently law abiding and law breaking families. A study of the problem from this angle would be worth while but it would require a more intensive investigation of family relationships and a more careful review of individual offenses over a number of years than time would allow for the present report. The most that can be offered is an impression to the effect that among the Yakimas there are a few families who can be expected to tangle with the law in one way or another ~~in~~ year in and year out, a vast majority of the disruptive potentialities

manifesting themselves in discriminated outbreaks, and a few who never come into conflict with the forces of law and order. The plotting of these ~~curve~~
~~intensity of conflict~~ proportion on a graph would yield
a normal distribution curve, and if it is faithful to the facts it signifies
a departure from the theoretically healthy state of a society wherein
the majority of individuals fall within no conflict range.

The problem of the neglected, delinquent or pre-delinquent child forces itself upon the attention of anyone studying social control. Since we have come to realize that most human behavior is conditioned behavior, and not innate, and that an individual can be conditioned to contra-social attitudes even more easily than to the restraints of a social existence, it has become increasingly evident that the early life of a child is all important in pre-determining his career. All too often the family conditions into which an Indian child is born are of such a nature as to give him no conception of our moral standards. He grows up in an atmosphere of complete disorganization of family relations, and knowing only the rule of acting on impulse from infancy (sic) he can hardly be expected to formulate and aspire to ideals of conduct which are alien to his parents. Even though his immediate family is above the average in setting an example of regulated behavior his contacts outside it are not calculated to fortify him home training. The result is an appalling number of wayward adolescents from whom nothing can be expected in their adult lives but a continuation of their sub-social hedonistic failure to conform to any standards of conduct.

One need not to be selective to find instances of uncontrolled and uncontrollable adolescents and pre adolescents. Commonly their delinquencies include or eventuate in irregular sex relations. Within the town of "White Swan" the following social disorder is to be found in one household.

The house is owned by Mrs. C. a widow of sorts who has had 2 or 3 husbands or paramours in the course of her life; and from these connections as well as from her own family, she has inherited enough property in land to provide her with a good income. During the past few years she has supported and entertained several temporary mates who appear and disappear with mystifying nonchalance. With her lives her daughter and the man with whom the daughter cohabits. They have one illegitimate child and she has another, 10 years of age, by her husband from whom she separated a few years ago. With Mrs. C. also lives her 17 year old son and his companion who is about the same age as himself. These two boys have in the past few months brought two 14 year old girls, E.S. and M.E. to Mrs. C. and she has recently complained to the field nurse, saying that the two girls should not be allowed to behave in this fashion. The irony of her protest does not appear to strike her, nor does the lack of control over her son appear to touch her personally. She has remonstrated with the boys and girls, but none of them has paid any attention to her. Her protests to the field nurse was with the hope that the nurse would take the matter up with the superintendent. When it was suggested that she herself make a complaint she replied that she did not like to talk such matters to men. It is safe to say that the matter will end here.

The histories of the two girls, E.S. and M.E. are illuminating. Although they have barely turned 14 they are already hardened to circumstances and experienced in the ways of mischief. M.E. is the daughter of a drunkard, an habitue of the To penish city jail. Her mother died in childbirth, leaving M.E. and one older and one younger brother. The father turned the three children over to their grandmother and went to live with another woman who had several children of her own. A couple of illegitimate children since then have increased his family beyond the limits of either his desire or ability to take care of it. The older brother of M.E. is much like his father. He drinks to excess and is beyond the control of his grandmother, yet she supports him. The same is true of M.E.. Her grandmother is indulgent and provided her with money, but the girl stays with her only when she feels like it; at other times she might be living with anyone. Last year she was brought before the juvenile court and it was decided to send her to Chemawa, the Indian boarding school near Salem, Oregon. She stayed six weeks, complained of the restrictions to her grandmother, and upon the request of the latter was released against the advice of the authorities. She is supposed to be on parole.

Her companion, E.S., has had a similar history. The mother died at birth and her father has practically abandoned her to his mother. He works on a ranch in Oregon and seldom sees his daughter. He has complained to the field nurse that E.S. is a "bad girl" and has requested that she be sent to Chemawa; and he has never taken sufficient interest in the problem either to provide her with a good home or to secure some concrete evidence and make a formal complaint about her as he has been repeatedly advised to do. E.S. receives about \$15 per month from her mother's estate and since she finds it agreeable to take board and lodging with anyone who will have her the money goes for clothes and pleasure.

To round out the picture it might be added that a third 14 year old girl, V. H., has been schooled in the same chaos and is a close associate of E.S. and M.E. She too lives with her mother's parents, but not because her mother is dead. Her father is, but the mother has given her up because "she won't mind" and now lives, unmarried with another man. The grandparents of the girl have no control over her. This past summer she was reported to be somewhere on the coast ostensibly picking berries, and living with an older man. The grandparents shrugged when asked about her; they hadn't heard from her.

Cases of this kind could be multiplied ad nauseam. Few of them ever reach the Indian court, although the judge is technically empowered to deal with them. In 1940 5 cases of disorderly conduct by minors were disposed of by him; in 1941 there were 2. His routine procedure is to parole a youth to a parent or some other allegedly responsible person on a year's probation. For violation of his pledge a delinquent in the past has been sent to the reservation CCC camp now they are being sent for resident training in defense work under NYA and N.Y.A. program in Seattle.

Their reasons are various, but perhaps the supreme irony of his position does not strike as many of them as a reason as we should expect, for the judge is not above reproach, and he seems unable to arbitrate his own family difficulties to suit the code he presumes to administer. This summer he discussed with the writer the problem of his son who had joined the army as a married man with one dependent but had discovered that he could not get his pay until he could show a certificate or record of his marriage, and a certificate or record of his daughter's birth. This presented difficulties since in truth he had never been married to the mother of his child and he had to call upon his father for help. The judge was in a quandry. Again, when this quasi daughter in law was pregnant a few years ago he was urged by the health authorities to have an examination made for suspected syphilis. The judge replied, "Oh, that's nothing. All the Indians have it."

Even though the judge were a model of rectitude there would still remain difficulties in the way of the successful prosecution of his duties as we see them. The question arises: Is not too much expected of him? He is chosen in part because of his knowledge and sympathy with Indian custom, and yet the premises upon which are founded the code of laws that he administered have been evolved by whites. Can we expect a man to look two ways at once?

In other courts the attitude of some white judges is not conducive to the impartial dispensation of justice. Many persons feel that it is both unjust and a waste of time to try to enforce our code upon the Indian: rigorous prosecution of all cases would only jam the courts and bewilder the offenders. Many manifest downright indifference to Indian offenses unless they infringe upon the sentiment of the white community. There is a suspicion too that some courts do not want to lower the plane of their jurisdiction to that of a domestic relations court by accepting the great number of petty cases preponderating among Indian offenders. The attitudes of some of these men flow from intelligent considerations of the Indian problem. They see the futility of punishing men and women who are not responsible for the conditions which have inured them to a life of law breaking. They regard the underlying problems of social reconstruction of more significance than the legal battle with their consequences.

Not a few of these persons take the view that it would be unfair to expect more of the Indian than of the white people among whom they live, and a point made of the scandalous behavior of many of the low class of whites on the reservation.

One also hears the opinion expressed that the Indian is a federal ward, taxes are being paid to maintain an expensive "machine" to minister to him, so let the government take care of it. Fortunately this sentiment is not widespread.

Another recourse in the case of incorrigibles has been to send them to Chemawa, a facile but not commendable solution for this is not a corrective institution and the presence of problem cases complicates its primary task of teaching Indian youths.

If the Indian Court does not feel competent to deal with a delinquency case it may, as with other offenses, bind it over to the state court, in this instance to the juvenile court in Yakima. Also, if the arrest of a delinquent takes place off the reservation this court acts in cooperation with the agency superintendent and educational director to dispose of the case. Some under-age offenders are paroled to the agency superintendent or to the superintendent at Chemawa ~~thru~~ through this channel. For those who require more immediate supervision and more stringent control, the state assumes the responsibility of institutionalizing them at the regular reformatories for white delinquents at Wahalla (for boys) and at Grand Mound (for girls). One recent case will serve to ~~exemplify~~ exemplify a common situation.

A 15 year old girl, P.I., was apprehended on the streets of Yakima and brought before the juvenile court on a charge of drunkenness. She was sent to Chemawa where only the superintendent knew of her record, ~~in~~ in accordance with the rule that is followed in such a procedure. She did well in school, and with the end of the school year she was paroled to the agency superintendent for the summer. She was supposed to be staying at home with her parents, but there was in reality no home for her. Both of her parents led irregular lives and were seldom home. Her father is an ex-convict and has spent much of his time in local jails. He is given to drink and to philandering and does not support his wife and four children. The mother at one time in the past decided it was easier to emulate him than to reform him and forthwith abandoned her children to live with another man. She was finally brought to her senses, but at the time of the return from Chemawa the household continued to be in a disrupted state. The Grand Mound parole officer could not locate the girl or any member of the family over the summer, and although it was known that she was living with some man not her husband nothing could be done, or was done, about it. It was not surprising, then, when her younger sister followed her over almost precisely the same course a short time later.

It seems a fair conclusion that the ~~girl~~ legal mechanisms operating to reduce and control the offenses committed by Indians are not as successful as could be hoped for. There are several reasons why this is so. Insofar as the Indian court is concerned one of them must be regarded as personal. A frank appraisal of the present judge impels the admission that he is lacking in the insight, the breadth of vision, the commanding presence, and the dignity which we have come to associate with the person of an arbiter of human conflicts. Respect for the law means in great part respect for its administrators and interpreters. One gets the impression that most Indians do not respect their judge.

Fortunately this sentiment is not widespread. The state and local authorities in Washington cooperate with the federal agents in an exemplary manner, but some prosecutors cannot avoid the feeling that their efforts are unavailing as long as the root conditions are under federal control, and as long as there remains some question of jurisdiction in specific cases. The matter of divided jurisdiction is especially irksome, and many issues arising from the Indian's unique position as a federal charge residing within the boundaries of a state have not been settled. Two variables complicate the problem: the status of the Indian as ward or freeholder and the status of trust or patent in fee. In some instances there is a settled policy. Federal authority attaches if an Indian commits any of the major crimes already mentioned against the person or property of another Indian or another individual if the act takes place "within the limits of ~~any~~ any Indian Reservation." It is accepted also that the ~~largely~~ last phase exempts the areas of state highway, railroad rights of way, and all nated lands even though these are within the reservation boundaries, and that the state has jurisdiction over crimes committed in those spots even though the offender be a ward of the government; likewise if the crime is committed outside the reservation boundaries.

Also, if an Indian has received a patent in fee for his land he is subject to the civil and criminal laws of the state like anyone else; but if he has not, and even though he has not been allotted, an offense by him on the reservation is not subject to the jurisdiction of the state unless the Indian court delegates its authority to act in such cases. A further acceptable interpretation seems to be that if the offender is a non Indian the injured party an Indian, and the offense committed on the reservation then federal jurisdiction attaches. Some doubt exists however about jurisdiction when an unallotted Indian separates himself from the tribe for a time but later returns and commits a crime. In doubt also is the status of an Indian who has been issued a patent in fee for part of his lands yet continues to hold an interest in trust property, perhaps inherited. Unsolved too is the problem of the status of the children of parents granted patents in fee. Even when state jurisdiction is acknowledged it is sometimes ineffectual as in domestic cases when degrees of divorce may be granted but decisions relative to alimony or child custody cannot be enforced; or when county aid must be given a mother and child but the father and husband cannot be prosecuted for desertion. These ambiguities are discouraging to prosecutors and entail the further evil that they tend to heighten the feeling of most Indians that they are members of a specially exempted class.

There are still other difficulties to harass (sic) and dull the enthusiasm of prosecutors. These have to do with the psychological characteristics of Indians. They are notoriously reluctant to inform upon each other even in cases when there are no particular ties in blood or companionship uniting them. This extends even to Indian policemen. Part of this attitude may stem from a surviving fear of witchcraft, as some affirm; but more of it can be attributed to the bonding action of a spontaneous shrinking from the white man's little understood machinations. Most Indians

avoid formal proceedings and they are averse to the making of formal complaints. In some cases they no doubt feel that it would do no good anyway; in others, they would much rather simply talk it over with the superintendent. The atmosphere of the court room is strange and repelling and it is difficult for a clever attorney to confuse an Indian witness and cast doubt upon his testimony. Furthermore, Indians seldom display a sustained zeal in pressing a case and the delay and temporizing which characterize our court actions can easily discourage their active support of the efforts of their legal representatives. Add to this the misunderstanding inherent in dealing with witnesses through interpreters and we are likely to conclude with some attorneys that the truth in Indian cases cannot be obtained by our routine legal procedure.

Underlying all of the failures at social control is the basic and unavoidable fact that the Indian recognizes no law, Indian or white, as his law. The aboriginal patterns of behavior and the sanctions of their control have crumbled bit by bit under the pressure to conform to the white man's standards. No individuals have accepted the change; some have remained adamant; most have become vacillating and selective, making their choices from either code and none at all when and where it gives them the greatest personal pleasure or advantage from either code and none at all when and where it gives them the greatest personal pleasure of advantage. The consequences have been disunity and an almost complete decay of public opinions, the absolute prerequisite for the successful functioning of any system of law and order. The harsh prosecution of a system of laws may instill fear of them, but it will not of itself bring respect for them. This requires approval by a process of spontaneous inner development.

Family Life

Nowhere is the disintegration of community life and group standards more apparent than within the social microcosm(sic) of the family. This is the ultimate social unit and the decay of a society begins and climaxes its devastating effects here. We can appreciate this when we reflect upon the role of the family in perpetuating the cultural traditions of a society, especially one wherein the only means of conveying these traditions is by word of mouth. Under these conditions the only linkages between the generations are the verbal teachings and the admonitions and the exemplary behaviors of the adult culture bearers; and when these ties are repudiated the conditioning moulds of the young are broken and they are free to find their own individual, i.e., non-cultural, solutions to life's problems. The Yakimas find themselves in this uncharted cultural chaos today.

The emotional and ideological breach between generations is the most striking feature of contemporary Yakima life. Children do not respect their parents and when they imitate them it is only to follow in their vagrant paths of unprincipled self seeking. Most parents have never disciplined themselves and hence find it difficult to discipline their children when the responsibilities of parenthood suddenly give them a new outlook. Some parents never achieve even this revolutionizing point of view; they never acknowledge that they have a responsibility to or for their offspring.

The detachment with which parents regard their children and the reciprocal attitude of children toward parents is the subject of comment by all who know the Yakimas. This does not mean that fathers and mothers are callous and harsh to their children; on the contrary they are very "good" to them which is to say that ~~when~~ they are over indulgent with them, giving them whatever they want and allowing them free rein. But this is but one evidence of their lack of control and failure to inculcate restraint in their young. Perhaps an analogy will serve to draw the distinction between our ideas of parental love and that of the Yakimas. They treat, and regard their children much as we do our pets, indulging them, expecting nothing inively human of them, enjoying them, but refusing to balance this selfish enjoyment with an anxious concern for their welfare. Their cruelty is the refined cruelty of a failure to prepare their little animals for the inevitable life among other human beings.

Those who theorize upon the rampant mother love instinct should first review the conditions among those of another people with a deteriorated culture. It is a very common practice for parents to "farm out" their children, as the local saying goes. This means that parents are in the habit of shifting the burden of caring for their children to the shoulders of anyone ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ who will not object. Frequently they are turned over to grandparents and the mother and or father goes on his or her way unhampered by the necessity of supporting or disciplining them. But any relative who will serve as an unloading ground, and this extends to degrees of remoteness which we would ~~xxxxx~~ not consider in enumerating family connections. These different parents seldom see their children and often do not know where they are, since the children move about upon their own accord from time to time. Teachers in the White Swan public school report a related practice among school children who are brought from their homes by school busses. Often they will go home with other children for days or weeks at a time without notice and without causing any parental alarm. It is evident also that many parents regard boarding schools such as Chemawa and health institutions such as the juvenile Indian tuberculosis sanatorium at Lapwai, Idaho, as convenient depositories for children whom they cannot support, control, or be bothered with. This escape device is one of the first they think of in complaining about their troublesome children. They do not hesitate to urge that their unruly offspring be sent to the state reformatories, and if their interest were capable of being sustained no doubt many more Indian children would be in these ~~xxx~~ institutions. On the reservation near White Swan the Christian Church maintains a home and farm training mission for resident children. It operates at a capacity even though a nominal fee is charged parents for boarding their children. Many of its charges are orphans or from broken homes, and there is a strong suggestion that many others are there because no one wants to give them a home.

As shocking as it may seem to us, then, Yakima parents manifest little concern for their children and do not want to be confined and hampered

by the necessity of taking care of them. If they can be institutionalized without too much trouble they will be; if not they are simply neglected and allowed to fend for themselves. The truth is that children are much less precious to the Indian than to us. Births and deaths of infants are not causes for a sustained rejoicing or a serious feeling of loss. There are too many of both to make much of them, and in many instances another child is only an added hindrance and expense. No special effort is made to preserve its life through health care and no lessons are learned from past experiences or the experiences of others who have seen their children drop away through ~~xxxxxx~~ carelessness exposures, malnutrition, contagious diseases, and eventual death. The philosophical acceptance of a shortened and crippled life cycle is ~~xxxxxx~~ one of the most stubborn and intangible obstacles against which doctors and nurses have to fight. It is an important aspect of parental indifference. A brief resume of one family history will give point to this discussion.

W.H. a full blood born in 1889, in 1923 married S.D. a full blood woman born in 1902. Previous to this marriage W.H. had had seven children by another woman. By S.D. he had nine more. In 1937 she left him and all of her nine children to live with another man by whom she has since given birth to three others, one dying as an infant of dysentery contracted in the hop field despite the doctor's admonitions and efforts to save the child. W.H. makes no attempt to support his 16 children. He is not vicious, but is without self-respect or principle. He was for a long time a faithful member of the Methodist congregation, and was too religious to drink, but did not feel that it was necessary to work. While married in S.F. he lived on her property and cash income; since then he has taken an occasional W.P.A. assignment, and now lives ~~xxx~~ with and is supporting his oldest son. His children are scattered in many homes. He has tried repeatedly to get them into institutions of one kind or another. Five of them have been sent to school at Chemawa with trachoma infections; one of them was expelled for theft and eventually found his way into the state institution at Chehalis. Two others have been sent to Cushman Hospital in Tacoma where they have ~~xxxxxxx~~ received treatments for malnutrition and incipient tuberculosis. One of the youngest, an 8 year old child, was in the Tacoma hospital in 1937 and again in 1940 on account of malnutrition. In 1941 she was sent to the sanatorium at Lapwai because of tuberculosis. In 1942 this was arrested and she was released but since she had no home to go to she is now living with a distant relative under conditions of filth and disease which will certainly cause a recrudescence of her ailments and probably ~~xx~~ kill her. It is not to be expected that either her father or her mother will do anything to halt the development of this tragedy.

Parental neglect has its record ~~xx~~ in lukewarm emotional attachments, filial cruelty, and disobedience. Children regard their parents much as they do any Indian; they are simply other individuals. The boomerang returns in old age when parents in their turn become burdens and drags upon a selfish life. There is nothing to be said, and the aged and the blind are treated with callousness that approximates cruelty. The detachment with which children consider their parents is sometimes surprising. Often times impossible to judge from a youth's manner or reference, attitude,

voice inflection, or actions whether he is speaking of his father or just some other person.. One frequently hears the expression "that man" in such a reference; or "that old fellow"; or "that old lady". Even small children are sometimes heard to refer to their mothers and fathers quite impersonally by their first names. Unquestionably many children feel the lack of emotional security, regularity, and stability which goes with a well integrated family life. To the reservation social worker several delinquents who have spent some time in the industrial training institutions have expressed a desire to go back. There at least they knew for the first time the feeling of security which comes with a regulated and shielded life.

Our ideal of conjugal unity and fidelity is no more accepted by the Indian than is our concomitant ideal of filial love and loyalty. It would not be fair to say that Indians never experience either a feeling of romantic love or the more natured sense of admiration and dependence upon a mate that comes with a long continued cooperative partnership in marriage. It is certain that both sentiments are sincerely possible to them, and any examples of both can be found in marriages today. Too often however, the animal drive is untempered by other considerations of either beauty or propriety. Again, in this matter as in others, there are no patterns demanding conformance either in a positive or a negative sense. That is, for most people the conjugal union of a man and woman is a simple and unadorned act of temporary mating unleavened by formalities of negotiation ~~xxx~~ or psychological preparation; and the only restraints upon it in point of person, age, consequences, or duration are the personal ones of choice and pleasure. Men and women unabashedly live together as man and wife without so much as a token gesture of marriage; they have children, dispose of them variously, and move on to another mate. Even though originally married this formality is no deterrent to future indiscriminate mating.

It must be admitted that there are many families to whom this generalization does not seem to apply. It is easy to point to ~~xxxxxx~~ stabilized unions; but of these something needs to be said in explanation. For one thing, they are to be found almost exclusively among the older people. This in turn generally means one or two things; that they are custom marriages contracted in the aboriginal pattern, or they are in the middle aged culminations of less orthodox unions. With an advanced age most people in most matters tend to settle down and not infrequently a companionate mating will endure; but this does not absolve some of the aging conservatives from the charge of youthful philandering. Many of them have a martial history which is not above reproach.

Agency officials have done all that they can to remedy this situation, but once again we meet with the fundamental fact that external pressure to conform to a standard is a poor substitute for an inward conviction of its value. Indian policemen are instructed to see that couples who live together are brought before the proper authorities and married, and this is an onerous charge for two policemen among 2,000 potential offenders.

Many prospective brides and grooms will secure marriage licenses under pressure and with these in their pockets will begin life together while evading and postponing the ceremony as long as possible. They artlessly admit that they do not want to get married because the ceremony is too final; it settles their future, and divorce is too expensive, difficult, and troublesome. They are abetted in their ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ subterfuges by the official recognition of custom marriage. Many of the older Indians have never been married by state law, but they or their parents have exchanged quantities of valuable goods in a publicly acknowledged sanction of their union and in accordance with the rigid formalities of aboriginal custom. This is custom marriage and the government recognizes it. Rarely is it practiced today, but young couples wishing to avoid the restraints of legal marriage claim its sanctions to lend the semblance of propriety (sic) to their act, all indulgence. The older Indians, and those who have "had their fling" are as usual quick to criticize these irregularities; but they are without influence over their children and public opinion is moribund. There are no effective internal controls over the animal instinct to mate.

Our concept of the family revolves about the important social, biological and economic unit of man, wife and child. This unit was important to the Indians aboriginally, too, but it was not so exclusive, not so independent among them as among us. Other lineal and collateral relatives like grandparents, uncles, aunts, and cousins were drawn into it with greater intimacy than among ourselves. This more extended unit often lived, worked, rejoiced, and suffered in common. The ideal of cooperation and interdependence has survived until the present time, but with the decay of a sense of responsibility the emphasis is now upon interdependence. That is, the psychological account upon taking rather than giving. A household nowadays very often consists, as it did in the past, of not only the man-wife-child unit but of dependent fringe of oddly assorted relatives and quasi relatives. Some comprise family units themselves such as sons-and-daughters-in-laws, or brothers-and-sisters-in-laws with their children. Others are different segments of broken families. Others are single relatives of all degrees, or even strangers. In some instances their stay is temporary, in others its termination is not a subject of thought or discussion. In some cases the members of this fringe have incomes and contribute to the upkeep of the household; in others they do not and they make no pretense about it. It would be unthinkable to reject them, even though the help they might give the householder in his fields or at odd jobs around the farm far from compensates him from their support. In addition to these more or less perennial visitors others of uncertain relationship and distinction are accustomed to drop in from time to time to secure home and hours (sic) with the house owner. At the time an informant has a steady job as a carpenter's helper at the agency. He is earning an allowance of \$50 per month, and was married but without children. For a period of one year he supported in his home five other adults and two children. The father of the children was sickly and unable to do more than a few chores around the house. Asked about his or his wife's relation to the informant the latter replied he was not certain "some kind of cousin," he thought. A second married couple was a niece and her husband who had a few odd jobs during the year. The seventh dependent guest was a woman, also of uncertain relationship to the informant. To support this conglomerate why did he not revile and turn his guest out, he said, "I couldn't do that. It's the Indian way. If I threw him out my name would be no good."

This custom, undiminished at the present time, brings in its train two evils from our standpoint. It overcrowds the living quarters, and it lowers

the Indians' standard of living. It is evident from the above quotation that a Yakima is esteemed not because he has much in material wealth and the comforts of home but because, if at all, he shares much. It is doubtful whether the word esteem is applicable even in this connection; relatives and strangers rather take a man's hospitality for granted. If his only thought is to provide for his wife and children his friends fall away thinking of him a strange and outlandish being; if he tacitly welcomes all who come to his door, that is only to be expected it is the only natural thing to do and especial credit is due him. Most individuals submit to this pressure and in consequence few of them aspire to an above and the average standard of living. An extra bit of effort and foresight in providing for the future nets nothing more in the long run. Sharing with all and sundry smooths the way out the curve of individual ambition and reduces its achievements to a dead level. A higher than average income is an invitation to sponge and not, as we should expect, a challenge to emulate its possessor's industry. Social standing does not depend upon the standard of living and hence there is incentive to raise it.

Hospitality certainly has its virtues, but under the circumstances we are considering its unlimited extension has engendered more than one evil. In some cases it does moral damage because it is not offered in a generous and happy spirit. Many begrudge the necessity of conforming to the pattern and an atmosphere of resentment, contempt, and potential conflict pervades the household. This comes out in the callous unconcern of one co-dweller for the comfort and well-being of another, and in the uninhibited tendency to discuss, criticize and complain about relatives even to strangers. The harmony and the emotional cushioning that we associate with home are not here; the spirit of loving-kindness that we associate with home are not here; the spirit of kindness is absent, leaving the empty shell of formal hospitality. Since parasites are without honor and have nothing to lose by insult or contempt the situation is static, bound by the traditional form that no single effort can break.

Equally degrading is the moral decay which saps the ambition of the young under the compulsion of this requirement. Children are expected to be dependent in all societies, but in all that merit the name there is a limit to this and a time when the young must assume the responsibilities of adult life. The Yakima with their characteristic lack of control over their children have lost the techniques and ability to enforce this all important transition. Adolescents will not accept the burdens of establishing and supporting a household and becoming productive members of the group and it is a little startling to realize that many Yakimas of full maturity in age are nonetheless still children in all other respects. As has been implied, one expression of this is their clinging to the family hearth. Upon attainment of full physical and mental growth they find no virtue in becoming independent economically. Even marriage imposes no such consideration upon them; neither does the coming of children, no matter how many. And since their (sic) is no social ideal founded upon an economic standard they feel no pressure from public opinion to the regarded as provident mothers (sic) and fathers. In consequence they remain with their parents, adding the least offensive but not the least regrettable element to the confusion of relatives in an over-crowded household.

Congestion in the home has other effects upon character and temperament which we cannot fail to regard as harmful. Privacy is lacking under these conditions and this makes for unseemingly familiarities and intimacies between co-dwellers.

With many people living in one room personal tastes and scruples are liable to become relaxed. The world of the individual is not respected; it is open to the inspection and criticism of others. The numerous trivial idiosyncrasies and secrets of every family's life together with public property and a significant attitude of discreteness and unity is dissipated by the prying of alien intruders. The family loses its identity and pride of self. The effects of this daily intimacy upon adults is bad enough, but is worse upon children. Interference in family life sometime results in uncles, aunts, grandparents, and others ordering the children of other parents about; or in their providing emotional refuges for disobedient children fleeing from parental control. Children are apt at exploiting such diversion of authority and patronage. They are also quick to observe and copy adult patterns either good or bad. They are not bettered by their unavoidable observance of the mischief of other children and a knowledge of how other parents react; not by their forced participation in adult quarrels and embroilments; nor by their precocious familiarity with sexual intimacies derived from living in one-roomed circuses. Early knowledge of sexual matters is not in itself harmful, as some reformers would have us think; but when it is imparted by direct observation and without appropriate instructions and explanation we can not be surprised if the child established a naive (sic) connection between the surge of passion and its direct satisfaction. He thereby approximates the purely animal norm and fails to condition himself to the numerous patterns of restraint and indirection which distinguish human sexual relations in every society. These and other control measures are the very essence of human as opposed to animal living.

In addition to the requirement of hospitality there are other traditional survivals which contribute to family instability in point of size and locus. One of these is the urge periodically, or whim, to move about. This has already been discussed, and its effects upon the family life can easily be imagined. It is not conducive to the building up of permanent intangible relationship bonds within the family and it provides a minimum in the way of economic roots within the for family development and provided in our design. Interest in the house as the material embodiment of home association is lacking, with a consequent failure to improve it and take pride in its appointments. Sentimental devotion to the thing "home" does not enter into the thinking of the Yakima as it does with us. Home is specially distributed over a wide area of root grounds, creeks, hills and woods; not localized in a boarded living room. For the same reason there is a lack of interest in livestock or other property which would require continued care on the spot.

Still another tendency which meshes with this is the custom of sleeping on a low flat hard surface; in the old days upon the ground. This has survived today in the form of pallet sleeping. In many homes there are no beds. In fact, a fair estimate would give one-third of the houses as without bedsteads of any kind, and another third as having only enough for a few of the inmates. The rest of the Indians by preference sleep on the floor on a nondescript assemblage of reed mats, blankets, and old straw mattresses. That this disposition is by preference is shown by several facts. Last year when the extension agent initiated a program of mattress making among the women in an attempt to encourage the use of bedsteads there was a disheartening response; only 21 women were sufficiently interested to complete their project, although every inducement was offered them. Also, it is clear that this is not a matter of poverty. It can be shown that some families receiving higher incomes still cling to the old custom of sleeping on the floor while others less able financially have adopted beds. Over-crowding is a factor, for in households

crowding is a factor, for in house holds filled beyond capacity some individuals go without beds, and when there are too many all must. This, however is not the critical factor because when all the houses wherein all members sleep on the floor are taken into account it is ~~xxxx~~ will still be found that they contain on an average of only 4 to 5 persons. That is, over crowded or not, wealth or not, a good proportion of the Akimas prefer to sleep on the floor. The real determining factor is conservation. Old people like pallets; they rationalize by saying that they are afraid if they might fall out of the bed and hurt themselves. The custom is also linked intimately with the surviving custom of camping most of the summer, and with the appeal of a vagrant, Tortilla flat attitude toward all property which binds the campers.

This attitude has other material manifestations. Indian houses are not hard to recognize. They are seldom painted and seem to be on the verge of ruin. Steps and porch when in one are likely to be sagging. Window panes are out and covered with cardboard, the foundation flimsy, and the roof inclined to leak. The yards are a litter of odds and ends of cast-off objects and other (sic) which may be used from time to time; they are unswept and field of dragon's teeth to automobile tires despite the fact that most Indians have cars, and good ones too. There are no lawns. The houses are almost without exception old, dating in materials and architecture from the beginning of this country; a high gable to afford an upstairs room or two with sometimes an interacting unit of the same pattern to give an L shaped ground plan. They are drafty and inadequate for the winters of the area.

The furniture is bleaky utilitarian, and normally in despair. Cooking and heating is by wood stove. The disarray of the outside continues into the interior with little distinction. Floors, corners, beds and tables are strewn and piled with clothing, toys, and papers, and utensils in a variegated clutter that only a better picture than the accompanying one can do justice (see plate..no plates)

Walls are hung with calendars, colored geographical and historical charts after the manner in our cultural history. A remarkable anachronism, found in most homes, is the radio. Many too have electric lights.

That this scene is not changed is the by the mere acquisitions of wealth is amply demonstrated by the contrast between the unkept houses and the shiny newness of the 1942 model automobiles which frequently stand beside them. To put it succinctly Indians have money--or can get it--for cars but not for homes and their improvements. And it should be realized that a potent factor in this contrast is once again the deepset appeal of a transient existence; automobiles have accommodated the urges to admirably since they allow of even quicker transport; and the Indian does not hesitate to take them over the most forbidding roads just as he used to do the horse. A comparison shows no correlation between wealth and neatness. The two scales may be divorced, and are among the Akima; that they are linked in our own culture is interesting but beside the point. The home of one of the most financially capable men on the reservation is shown in plate. A new tractor and truck bought last year and standing not far off are typical of the contrast being discussed. The social status is not a pertinent consideration. This is also demonstrated by this man.

He is a councillor. If further proof were necessary it might be pointed out that the house interior shown in plate is that of the Bishop of the native Indian "haker" church. He does not live on the "akima" reservation, but that too is beside the point, for his home is typical.

The living conditions in "aki" summer encampments are even more destitute of order and convenience, as they are among all people. These resorts with filth, flies and other unsanitary conditions are the despair of doctors and nurses. Many readers will be familiar with the Indian huts at "olilo." The "akima" occupy one section of this sprawling ~~shanty~~ shanty town through the summer. Some pictures of the dwellings and fish drying racks are offered in plates. "Even when at home" the Indians prefer to live camp style in the summer. In almost every family cooking and eating is done outside on stoves and tables under a brush arbor (plate). Many sleep outside. The house is only an auxiliary convenience, and mainly for winter. Some old people still insist upon living ~~aborigined~~ in aboriginal type constructions during the winter (plate) although they are now few in number..

In order to leaven the desolation of this picture of the home life of the "akimas" it must be admitted, and even stressed, that it is not always possible to distinguish between some local whites and Indians. Representatives of ~~this~~ the lower stratum in our population are to be encountered on the reservation. In their mores, in their ambitions, in their ideals, in their family structure skin color and sometimes not even in that, they cannot be differentiated from the natives. They live intermingled with them as transient laborers or land renters and often intermarry with time, the only class of whites with whom miscegenation is possible to the socially inferior Indian. This is today the source of the half breeds, and it is also their fate. They stem from, and seldom aspire beyond the standards of the least regenerate elements in both the Indian and white populations.

Full bloods are reluctant to marry either whites or half breeds. This attitude is in part a reaction from the white antipathy to inter racial marriages; that is the feeling is mutual. But it is aggravated by a resolute white attitude of difference and superiority. Full blood Indians respond with a like contempt for persons who countenance such unions. Only 3 years ago a woman disowned her grandson for marrying a white girl, her antipathy no doubt being stimulated by the fact that the girl was one of a large and worthless migrant family who hoped to gain a land foot hold by marriage, and who was herself a lazy and vacuous specimen of womanhood. This girl is typical of the class of whites available to even the best of the natives.

The marriage was ~~x~~ typical in that normally it is a worthless white man who marries an Indian woman. There are a few cases of white women marrying Indian men, and then the latter are usually of the best. The older half breeds family (sic) have developed from the union of Indian women and white men, whatever their status back home in the east, survived and were admired in the west because of their courage, vigor, and industry. Today this element is lacking in Indian white contacts, and characteristically the upper bracket in the Indian population can aspire no higher than the dregs of our society for their sons-and daughters-in-law. Both races reveal less antipathy toward mixed bloods; but by far the greater number of marriages ~~between~~ involving both races occur between mixed blood and mixed blood.

Throughout this section the stress has been upon patterns of thought and action, upon systems of belief and scales of values. In some instances they have been action patterns which have survived from aboriginal times and are in conflict with our present day demands upon the Indians to conform to our manner of life, in other words the standards are degenerate from any standpoint, whether our own, or what of the aboriginal scheme. These intangible entities are the real motivating forces in any culture. The conflict between ideals poses the issue adjustment, and the injuries to morale and the impalpable values of social existence are at the heart of the cultural chaos so manifest in Yakima life. An attempt has been made to indicate that material conditions such as poverty, overcrowding, unkept houses, lack of concern for real property, and the like, are but reflections of these more fundamental value systems. It is upon these that we must focus our attention if we are to further our efforts to bring the Indian into line with our social norms. His material condition meets the eyes more readily, and is more likely to draw the fire of reformers; but it must be asserted that these are mere symptoms, not primary causes of our cultural differences, and they must be treated as such.

Health Conditions

The same thesis applies to another material manifestation: namely, disease. We, after centuries of controlled experimentation and rigorous questioning, have come to take a mundane view of disease, regarding it as a part of our experience of materialistic causes and effects. This is what we have come to call the scientific attitude. Since the causes are materialistic we consider that the cures must likewise be of this nature, and we place our trust in the mechanical operation of medicine and surgery. Primitive man also recognizes a field of disease and cure on this plane, but it is a restricted field. Most disease causes are not understood by him, and hence he takes the view that they spring from supernatural sources. Given this premise, then logically enough he reasons that these supernatural causes must be counteracted by techniques which draw upon the supernatural world of ~~magical~~ spirits as curing agents. Hence, the medicine men with this claim of control over occult forces can be brought to bear to relieve the sick or sorely distressed.

The two systems of thought are worlds apart. They are founded upon utterly different premises and it does no good to argue with the Indian that a medicine man cannot suck out some foreign object from his body when his own eyes have borne witness to the performance, and as long as his mind fails to operate along the materialistic channels that we are accustomed to from our earliest childhood. Such is the case of the Yakimas. Today there are several medicine men who are regularly called upon to cure the sick among a large proportion of the people. Some families will have little to do with the resident physician and his ideas; others admit the possibility that he may be able to help them in illness, and will skeptically give him a chance with the reservation that if he fails they will turn to the medicine man. The scant allowance that they make to his ability ~~tax~~ is weighted against success, for they will seldom follow his directions with conviction and are all too ready to charge him with failure. They admit that he can help white men, but rationalize their beliefs in stating that Indians are different from white people, being subject to mystic forces that we cannot understand. ~~No~~ No (sic) must it be thought that his conviction is confined to the older uneducated members; many in fact, most of the young people are ~~frankly~~ frankl convinced of the powers of the medicine man even though they have been exposed to a high school education.

It is against this psychology that physicians and field nurses have to fight. To what extent they realize the character of their problem is perhaps not to the point here; certain it is that they do not attack it at its roots, nor can they be expected to under existing conditions. All of their time must be devoted to stemming the tide of sickness among the already afflicted, and adequate techniques do not exist for altering native thinking on the etiology of disease. It is always a defensive struggle, and consequently health programs make little headway against the ignorance, apathy, and skepticism of the Indian.

Satisfactory record upon the prevalence of disease among the Yakimas are not available. It would require a special effort and budget to make a survey of all cases, chronic, unattended and current. Many of the sick never voluntarily make an appearance before the health officer, and what little treatment they receive is under pressure of home calls by the nurses. Others of unknown number never appear on any tally sheet. The only records of statistical value is an analysis of incidence and prevalence are the current reports of the activities of the doctors and field nurses. These are primarily work reports but from them certain health data are inferable. They bear out the impression that the most prevalent diseases are syphilis, gonorrhea, tuberculosis and trachoma in approximately that order. Over the six-month period from July to December 1941 field nurses attended 103 cases of venereal diseases, 100 of tuberculosis, and 87 of trachoma. These are the most difficult to control since they become chronic, are not too painful, and require protracted treatment for a cure. The Indian, as does many another person of whatever race, therefore tends to ignore them as not worth the trouble. The result is a large number of virulent carriers who spread their infections in a hopelessly ever-widening circle impossible of circumvention. Many old people have not only become blind themselves but have laid the foundation for this infliction among their children and grandchildren because they have refused to persist in treatment for trachoma. The 87 cases noted as receiving treatments of some kind on the last semi-annual report do not represent the total afflicted; in the "White Swan" district alone there are 54 long standing cases on file which go unattended and at best can be regarded as only arrested. The same apathy characteristics are of the Indian's attitude toward tuberculosis and venereal diseases; they are taken to be unavoidable accompaniments of a normal life. Last year 52 new cases of venereal diseases were recorded, but against this does

(again this?) does not take into count the large number of unreported infections and the prevalence of chronic afflictions.

The ravages of these diseases are most pitiable among children many of whom are racked and disabled before their lives are fairly begun. More vicious, perhaps, because it is more insidious, is malnutrition. The mysteries of a balanced diet are even more incomprehensible to the Indian than the workings of specific medicines. As elsewhere, poverty is a potent factor in the prevalence of this disorder; but the root is still psychological. Taste, not medicinal considerations, governs the expenditure of the grogery budget of what ever size. Arguments for a more restrained and circumspect diet are met with the usual cliches and rationalizations; and even the admitted demonstration of a connection between a wasted body and its continued neglect lacks force for the Indian.

Disease and death are necessary evils, everybody is subject to them, and to have syphilis or rickets is not disgraceful or abnormal. Why worry about them?

Sith other diseases the doctors have more success, principally because they can be controlled by inniculation or specifics and because whole groups like school children can be treated. Regular inspections and treatments are part of school routine for Indian children. Most of the immunizations are for small pox and diphtheria. These were completely controlled last year, as were measles, scarlet fever and meningitis. The incidence of typhoid was also very low. Chicken pox was ~~xxxxx~~ epidemic. Signal achievements are being made now in the cure of trachoma by the use of sulfa drugs, but these are not usually locally applied. The practice has been to send infected children to the Chemawa school which at the present time is able to take care of much larger numbers than heretofore due to the new discoveries. Weekly roundups of children in need of tonslectomies and the like are also made during the summer, and they are taken to the Cushman(?) (a) hospital in Tacoma for surgery. Regular tuberculin tests are also made and as many of the acute childhood cases as can be accommodated are sent to the Indian hospital in Lapwai, Idaho. Formerly the Cushman Hospital offered limited facilities for rehabilitation cases but the continuation of this necessary complement to a tuberculosis "cure" seems doubtful. As with the venereal diseases the long period of recuperation must be left up to the Indian, and he normally treats debilitation with indifference.

The unsanitary conditions in the homes are trials for the health authorities. They despair of progress in curing a communicable disease where the patient lives in filth and in contact with others likewise infected. Patients in Indian homes are neglected but not segregated from others; they take pills but continue to eat, sleep and take their pleasures as they feel like it. Multitudes of flies and dogs provide excellent contact agents, and the virtues of sterilization go unappreciated. Nurses labor valiantly against the scourge of dysentery which appears annually in the hop fields to take the lives of babies. Mothers take their entire families there (plate--) and many infants fail to survive the hazards of long days in the heat under unsanitary conditions. One nurse recounts her experience in providing an expectant mother with sterile sheets for her delivery; the sheet was spread upon a pallet, the only bed available, but before the mother could take her place upon it one of the family dogs had found it to his liking and preempted it.

The attitude of the Indian toward the offerings of our medical science is typified by his reactions at child birth. Nurses are not encouraged by policy to attend actual deliveries and therefore their records do not normally show them in attendance at any births. They do endeavor to assist them and advise before and after, however, and chiefly on account of their own insistence they make a large number of Kamfield visits to expectant and newly delivered mothers. Most Indians do not want the physician to attend them or even advise them at childbirth; or if they do they take the precaution to appeal also to native midwives and magicians for a more certain emotional security. Last year the doctor's report states that a total of 36 births were attended by him.

He does not know how many births there were, actually, but it is certain that most fathers and mothers would applaud the wisdom of their Indian Court of Offenses judge in one respect at least. His aforementioned grandmother had no birth certificate and is without legal status at the agency, simply because a qualified physician was not in attendance at her birth and it has never been recorded. Instead, a native doctor was called to diagnose her mother's condition, prescribe for her and give her comfort. This man has a special supernatural power which given him clairvoyance beyond anything claimed by our physician and is widely sought to give aid and solace to expectant mothers. Nor is he the only such individual; still another was called upon by the judge last year to assist with the pregnancy of his daughter.

Once again we can admit that the economic factor plays a part in retarding the acceptance of modern medical science by the Yakimas, but only to stress that this is not the controlling influence. Indians pay their medicine men well for their service, although not as extravagantly as is sometimes claimed. Those who want scientific treatment cannot afford it but may be hospitalized at Cushman Hospital in Lapwai (sic.. Cushman is at Tacoma, now closed) or at the sanatorium for adults on the reservation for adults on the reservation as government Indian patients (government expense). Also the county assumes its share of the burden in accepting indigent Indian patients on par with whites. In the past the county hospital has requested some financial assistance from the government in cases involving uncommon expenses but even this practice is declining. For the poor who need expensive services and cannot afford them the superintendent must make a special request for an individual appropriation from the Secretary of the Interior. In other words patients must pay for their medical care themselves if they are able, and only in particular cases does the government assume financial responsibility. Tribal funds are not used for emergencies.

It should be clear from the foregoing that the Indian health problem is not simply economic. It is not simply anything. Physical health is but one aspect of the more general and more fundamental problem of social well being which we have already considered. When we inquire what has been done and what is being done to remedy the total situation we turn inevitably to the subject of education.

Adult Education an Old Policy

There is an intensive program of adult education in process on the reservation under the auspices of the Extension Division, a collateral department of the Agency with general offices in Washington, D.C. The function of this branch of the service is to improve the economic conditions of the Indians through instruction and assistance to individual problems pertaining to their more extensive and effective utilization of resources. The personnel of the office of the Lapwai Reservation includes an Extension Agent, two farm agents, and a Home Demonstration Agent. These four people are in intimate contact with the Indians, studying much of their time on the farms or in the homes where they can be of the most help.

The primary objective of the farm agents in the extension service is to encourage the Indians to make more and more use of their lands. One aspect of the problem is to devise means to induce them to do the farming of their lands themselves instead of leasing them to white men. For this purpose are laid out to this end, such as concentrating upon selected families (sic) over a set of time and giving them every instructional aid possible to encourage them. Last year for example four families

families were induced to start farming for the first time, three of them with good results. Other objectives of the service center about improvements of conditions which will make farming more lucrative and efficient, and the control of ignorant and destructive (?) practices. Agents assist in planning for improved irrigation, control of weeds and poisonous plants, control of livestock diseases and inferior strains of herds, soil conservation, crop rotation, marketable planting, and in any other project for the more scientific exploitation of native resources. Fortunately financial aid as well as advice is available to the enterprising Yakima. The tribe maintains a loan fund of \$50,000 administered by a committee which investigates its petitioners for assistance and conducts regular tours of inspection to check upon the utilization of money granted. It is the policy of this committee not to subsidize chronic pleaders such as those who make annual requests for seeds. Last year 35 loans were made totalling \$8,782, of which \$2,59 per cent was for teams and equipment, 26 per cent for building material, 9 per cent for livestock and 5 per cent for seed.

One of the most successful projects instituted by the Extension Division was the formation of the cooperative Indian cattlemen's Association in 1931. The stock was, and is "loaned" from a government pool, repayment costs to be made in kind; but today due to branding and other complications resulting from this method there is a movement on foot to substitute money payments. Roundups and sales are engaged in cooperatively but each man owns his own stock. Acting as an association to the group is able to bring buyers to local stock pens and secure better prices than otherwise. There are now 93 members, operating 3,543 head of cattle out of a total of \$6,501 reported for the reservation. Last year they sold 747 head for \$49,188. There is also a Junior stockmen's association whose 41 members were each issued 5 yearling heifers five years ago. At present 31 of them have more than 5 head, 25 yearlings have more than 7 and 10 have over 10 head each. Last year four more families were started with cattle. Sheep do not appeal to these Indians, and they cannot be induced to raise them, of familiar antipathy which can be appreciated by any cattlemen.

The Home Demonstration Agent endeavors to improve the economic conditions of the Indian home through introduction and encouragement of new techniques in house hold management. Her plan, like that of the farm agents, has been to establish certain goals over a given period. For the present she is concentrating upon gardening, preservation and nutrition. She has organized five clubs in different sections of the reservation and has 65 women enrolled. This past year she was able to report upon several projects and accomplishments of which the following will convey an idea: Twenty-seven well planned gardens were being tended, and were growing an average of 11 different vegetables. Forty two families were encouraged to can 18,239 quarts of fruit, vegetables, and meat; fourteen families canning their winter's supply of vegetables for the first time. Three new pressure cookers were purchased by Indian women, making a total of fourteen on record. Club members remodeled 23 of their dresses, and 65 made new ones; a local dress-review was held, and two of the women exhibited and won prizes on their dresses at the state fair at Yakima. A project was initiated assisted by the husbands to stimulate the use of mattresses in the home through having the women, assisted by their husbands, make their own under supervision. As a result of much publicity given it 63 applications were received 58 were granted and 21 of the applicants completed their mattresses.

Four-H Club work is also carried on under the auspices of the Extension Division. In 1941 eleven boys were encouraged to undertake the care of gardens of their own; ~~xxx1941~~ and all of the 35 girl members were engaged on sewing and clothes making projects. Although it is handled by a special teacher in the public school and is not a part of the program of division being discussed we should not fail to note the similar work undertaken among the young people, Indian and white, under the Smith-Hughes plan. Boys in high school receive classroom instruction in farm management, and must in addition carry on supervised projects at home for a credit. Girls, under a similarly sponsored plan, have class work in household economics and are also responsible for home projects. These programs are in effect in the reservation high schools.

The difficulties and the discouragements which tend to dull the enthusiasm of workers in adult Indian education are numerous and persistent. The Extension Division personnel is continually thwarted in its efforts at club formation by the striking lack of community feeling among the Yakimas. They do not feel that any tribe solidarity and when this is added in the excessive number of personal feuds and dislikes, the difficulties in the way of forming cooperative enterprises among them are almost insuperable. This is an old evil on the reservation and in the past has vitiated group unity with respect

to tribal council, church membership, and clubs of social or economic character, even including the effort of the cattlemen's association. Still other obstacles balk the conscientious efforts of the extension service. Quite apart from the apathy of the native--which is fundamental--there are such deterrents to the success of the farm agents' plans as the demand for leases on good irrigated land by whites, the inadequate irrigation facilities on some allotments, and the involved inheritance claims on others. The advances that are made in one year in converting some of the Indians to the sedentary life are frequently nullified by as many losses in other quarters. For example in 1940 there were 226 families rated as farmers on the reservation, tilling 13,347 acres; whereas in 1941, despite the 4 new ones added, there were only 222 such families rated as farmers with 13,320 acres under cultivation, the increase in acreage being due mainly to added pasture lands. (see note 4)

It is difficult to see any hope in this kind of a program. It is not a matter of securing able or conscientious agents in the field; the service has these. The disheartening feature of it is that it has been tried for so long and has produced little in the way of tangible results. The reports of agency superintendents to the commissioner of Indian Affairs in Washington for 1865 until the present contain abundant proof that precisely the same hopes and methods have prevailed ~~xxxxx~~ from that to this day. In 1865 and from many years thereafter (sic) an agency farm was maintained and operated by students at the boarding school for their benefit and instruction; a knowledge of soap making was likewise imparted under even more favorable conditions than now exist. In addition, there was even an "extension" service, though under other names; the government farmer, miller, sawyer, and carpenter helped the Indian to break, fence, and plant his ground, to harvest and mill his grain to saw his logs and lumber.

Note 4--Figures from the reclamation office on the reservation actually show a decrease in acreage, but according to the Extension Division's reckoning this does not take into account new land outside the irrigation projects.

and to build his house. At the same time women, who are usually the wives of employees, introduced stoves, lamps and sewing machines into each house as they could. The problems which present day workers in Indian homes experience have a wearisome familiarity after a reading of these early documents and some incisive inquiries among the older Indians who remember some of the conditions of thirty or fifty years ago.

Youth Education: the New Policy and its Difficulties

In one respect, however, there has been a marked deviation from the older approaches. This concerns the education of Indian youth. In times past it was believed by many educators, including agents at Fort Simcoe, that the only way to secure lasting benefit to the Indian child under instruction was to remove him as much as possible from his home surrounding for these inevitably degrade him. Then too, under rural conditions in the past it was often difficult if not impossible to provide daily transportation to the far to the farm (to and from?) (sic) the child's home and the distant schoolhouse. Boarding schools were therefore established on many reservations and some of these, together with other types of off-reservation institutions exist today; but the emphasis now is upon day schools, and more particularly upon utilizing the facilities and advantages of the public school for the benefit of the Indian. The policy of the present administration relative to this matter is contained in the following excerpt:

"An important feature of the transition period from boarding to day school attendance is the employment of visiting teachers or school social workers who work between the school and the home and assist the Indian families in the task of caring for their children of school age in their homes. For many Indian parents, this is a new and difficult task and is made more so due to present economic conditions. School social workers have clearly demonstrated their effectiveness in the success of this program.

"In reducing the numbers in boarding schools the aim has been to place the younger pupils in local schools so that they may live at home. Notwithstanding the pressure upon boarding schools during the past years due to the economic situation, the total numbers have decreased and pupils in advance grades now far out number those in the lower grades. In the fall of 1932, there were approximately 2,000 fewer boys and girls in Government boarding schools than there were the previous year. The whole tendency is to save these additional opportunities as long as they are needed for special types of work that Indian boys and girls, particularly those of a considerable degree of Indian blood, could not get in their own localities or with the resources they have.

"Another item contained in the announced policy of the Secretary says that Indian schools should only be provided if it is not possible to merge the training of the Indian into the school system of the states. In so far as it is possible scholarships in the institutions of higher learning of the country shall be provided for those Indian boys and girls who are capable of going beyond the ordinary high school training.

"Referring to the education of Indian youth in institutions of higher learning it is possible to obtain in the 1933 appropriations act, for the first time, authorization to use funds for the tuition of Indian pupils attending higher educational institutions, under such rules and regulations as the Secretary of the Interior may prescribe.

"The elimination of pupils in boarding schools has naturally reflected a large increase in the amount to be expended for tuition of Indian children enrolled in the local public schools, and Congress has provided both for the present and the next fiscal yearx increases in appropriations to meet these charges, though it is significant that even these increases (with) the total cost of schooling for Indians has been materially reduced" (See note 5)

The success of this policy of conversion from Federal school to local public school obviously depends upon the cooperation which the state and district educational boards are willing to tender the federal agencies. No more than a brief analysis is needed however to show that something more ingenious than mere cooperativeness is called for if the problem raised up by the plan is to be solved. The State of Washington in 1930 had already agreed to undertake the education of all Indian students within its boundaries not otherwise provided for, so that by the date of the above statement of policy there were already 1,951 students enrolled in the public schools of the state (425 on the Yakima reservation) and none were being accommodated in federal boarding schools on the reservation within it. In return (see note 6) for the assumption of this burden the national government agreed to reimburse the state through local districts, on the basis of the computed average cost per pupil per day in attendance at each school. Arrangements were made between the local school districts and the agencies whose wards were served by them. Payments were made three times a year directly to the public school by the superintendent whose agency benefited from this service. Only children of one-quarter degree of Indian blood or more were provided for by this measure. Of necessity the financial adjustments between the federal agency and the district board had to conform to local conditions; in some instances special services such as hot lunches or transportation by bus, were provided by the school; in others, there was a demand for more classroom space, vocation training or an accredited high school to accommodate the increase in enrolment. As a result there was a considerable disparity in the per capita payments to the different schools, even on the same reservation. Over the state in 1934 this ranged from 20 cents to 75 cents per Indian pupil per day, and within the Yakima Reservation from the same low figure for the Napa district to 50 cents for the White Swan district. This disparity, together with other embarrassments has sometimes been a source of considerable dissatisfaction and discord between local and federal administrators of the program. Furthermore, it is understood that the federal government, has by its elimination of the boarding school effected a saving of about two thirds of its former education costs, and the feeling is quite general that the public schools, not the government ~~xxxxxxx~~ should benefit by the change, especially in view of the poverty of many school districts. This opinion is fortified by the conviction of some districts through its policy of withholding (sic) Indian lands from taxation, a matter to be referred to later.

(Note 5) - "Indian Administration since July 1, 1929, Mimeographed pamphlet United States Department of the Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, Washington D.C., March 3, 1933 pp 47-49.

(Note 6) There were other pupils provided for in other institutions. A summary of the state for the year 1933 is as follows: Total children 6-18 years inclusive, 2,946; total enrolled 2,490; enrolled in public schools 1,951; enrolled in Federal non-reservation boarding schools 180; enrolled in mission, state and private boarding schools 203; enrolled in sanatoria 156; no definite information 196; not enrolled in any school 260.

In an effort to give greater security and consistency to the program of cooperation the Johnson O'Malley bill (sic) (O'Malley cq) was passed in 1934. This authorized ~~the~~ the Secretary of the Interior to contract directly with the State. The State Superintendent of Public Instruction was likewise empowered to negotiate, with the advise of the Attorney General, and in 1935 the contract was signed. By its terms the State of Washington agreed to provide adequate education in public elementary schools, public secondary schools, colleges, special schools and vocational or trade schools to all Indian children residents of the State of Washington and to provide, in so far as the same conditions as to any other citizens of the ~~United~~ State and to provide for funds transferred in accordance with the terms of this contract by the party of the first part (the federal government) will permit, transportation of Indian pupils to and from schools when necessary, school lunches for Indian pupils when needed, required text books and school supplies, and school medical and dental service," as ~~provided~~ well as to meet special educational demands of the Indians and to maintain standards of teacher training, school supplies, equipment, and sanitation not lower than the highest maintained by the state of Washington." A superintendent of Indian Education was also provided for whose duty it became, in cooperation with the state Superintendent of Public Instruction, to determine the tuition rate for the various public schools and to disburse the apportioned sum from the central office in Olympia.

That this measure has not met with complete success is attested by the following quotation from a manuscript by Clifton A. Crook, superintendent of schools in the White Swan District on the Yakima Reservation:

"The State contract, in many ways, has created nearly as many problems as it has eliminated. The schools are receiving less reimbursement now in return for services rendered to the Indian pupil than they received prior to the contract agreement. It would be somewhat premature to say that the present system, under the State contract method, is a complete success. Much work remains to be done before an equitable method for the payment of tuition moneys can be worked out for ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ each school district concerned. In certain districts had agreed prior (sic) to the introduction of the state contract certain districts had agreed to furnish transportation, hot lunches and render services to its Indian pupils (sic) In return for these service agreements were made with the local agencies whereby certain specified tuition rates would be given. These tuition moneys would help defray the added financial burdens assumed by the district in attempting to pay for its busses and other extra costs thus incurred wholly or in part for the Indian pupils. The State contract apparently abrogates these prior agreements. Unless due consideration be given under the new method of tuition payment, those above mentioned districts will suffer financially."

"In certain instances special allotments of funds for libraries, hot lunches and scholarships has, in part, helped compensate certain districts for the decrease in tuition rates. There has been an attempt to adjust these problems amicably and fairly to the best knowledge of the Indian Office. However, the successful operation of the State contract plan school boards and school administrators who have schools located upon the Yakima Reservation in the State (sic) Note 7

Note 7- Crook, Clifton. A study of Indian Education in Washington. Manuscript thesis submitted for the degree of Master of Arts, University of Washington, 1938 p. 2.

The general situation of which Mr. Crook complains is epitomized in his own district where a rather steady increase in Indian enrollment since 1930 has been accompanied by a decrease in tuition receipts from the federal treasury. Some idea of the resulting pinch can be obtained from the following table, keeping in mind that days in attendance and not the simple fact of Indian enrollment is the basis for reckoning reimbursement.

Indian Tuition, Attendance and Enrollment

| Year | Indian attendance | enrolled | District total | | Tuition |
|---------|-------------------|----------|----------------|------------------------|-------------|
| | | | Attendance | Enrolled | Receipts |
| 1931-38 | ? | ? | ? | \$10,366.75 | \$10,366.75 |
| 1932-33 | 23,910 | 147 | 46,977 | 361 | 9,235.75 |
| 1933-34 | 18,960 | 148 | 50,595 | 374 | 9,268.10 |
| 1934-35 | 20,354 | 168 | 54,932 | 415 | 9,186.51 |
| 1935-36 | 24,294 | 186 | 62,087 | 468 | 7,757.13 |
| 1936-37 | 23,105 | 184 | 62,446 | 489 | 6,038.20 |
| 1937-38 | 27,162 | 209 | 70,000 | 522 | 6,756.00 |

As these figures show, over an eight year period from 1930 to 1938, there has been a reduction of over 33 per cent in tuition receipts, and over the same period an increase of over 42 per cent in Indian enrollment in the White Swan District, the discrepancy resulting from a reduction of the per capita payments from 50 cents to 34 cents. There may be more economic justice in this adjustment than appears in the bald presentation of the figures; only a more exhaustive analysis than is here called for would warrant a decision. But that the contributions made by the government do not adequately meet the demands of the over-all program which the state has subscribed to has been officially recognized by the passage of the Snowalter Bill. By this act the state of Washington has agreed to pay one and one-half days attendance for non-Indian pupils residing on military, naval and Indian reservations, thereby assuming as many believe, an obligation rightly resting with the federal government. Also, it is apparent that tuition payments, no matter how liberal, as long as they are for operating costs only take care of the demand for additional buildings and equipment to accommodate the increases for enrollment. A few districts in the state have been able to get special appropriations from the government for capital outlays; others ~~xxxxxx~~ have not. The White Swan district in 1935 received a \$50,000 loan for the specific purpose of building a high school to be repaid over a period of 30 years at the interest rate of 3 per cent per annum. The Wapato district on the same reservation, unable to bond itself for new high school buildings to meet overcrowded conditions, failed to secure such relief. It is doubtful if there were any Indians in the Wapato high school.

At the root of the difficulty of accommodating an increasing enrollment in public schools on reservations is the dearth of taxable land to support the systems. Indian land, whether it is allotted to individuals or reserved in the name of the tribe, is held in trust for the Indian, is alienable except in singular cases, and cannot be taxed. This remains true though, as is usually the case with valuable land the Indian leases to a white tenant. Neither is liable to a land tax, and the white lessee does not infrequently has a minimum of personal property from which revenue can be derived.

Some land which was formerly held in trust has in the past been deeded to the Indians and a good part of this sold to white men. All such deeded property whether in the hands of whites or natives is taxable; but there is comparatively little of this in Yakima County. It is estimated that there are 2,554,280 acres in the county but there is exempted from taxation not only the 1,112,767 acres of trust land under the jurisdiction of the Indian Agency, but also the 464,767 acres of ~~xxxxxx~~ which comprise The "Gairner" National Forest. A good share of the assessable balance, which amounts to roughly 978,000 acres, is of indifferent quality.

On the Yakima Reservation the total acreage under cultivation is in the neighborhood of 120,000 acres; over half of this land in 1942 was leased by whites who paid no tax yet whose children constituted one-third of the school population; about 44,000 acres of the total crop producing land was assessable for the support of the remaining 623 (sic) The White Swan district contains 763 sections of land or 488,960 acres; but that only one-tenth of the potential land values are capitalized upon for the maintenance of the public school, the ~~xxxxxx~~ benefits of which are shared not only by Indian children but also the children of many leasees from who (sic) (whom) no support is forthcoming. At Wapato the high school cares for the secondary education of four other non high school districts surrounding it as well for itself (sic) yet only 38 per cent of the Wapato district valuation is assessable to provide accommodations for this burden. Increased space has been needed for some time, but on March 1, 1936 Wapato could legally raise only \$76,679 (5 per cent of its essential valuation of \$1,533,580), which after the deduction of outstanding obligations left a sum too small to warrant.

The circumstances are in some respects more acute on the Yakima reservation but they are not peculiar (sic) to it. There are 3,081,551 acres of reservation land in Washington by government report, but of this only 272,070 acres or 8 per cent are deeded and hence taxable. Schools located upon such restricted lands face a real problem in many cases. They make up for the loss in local taxes; and in many cases this is not a solution which will meet the demands of local conditions. If the policy of the Office of Indian Affairs called for the continued isolation of the Indian and the exclusion of whites from the reservation then we might feel that public schools were intruders and must accept local district facilities and obtaining cooperation under stringent handicaps, it would seem that the next move would be that (sic) the government. Unfortunately, however, the only remedy which seems to occur to most administrators is another appropriation.

The Indian at School

There are 6 school districts on the reservation; namely, Toppenish, Wapato, White Swan, Parker, Harrah and Granger. Only four (no Indians attend high school at Granger) maintain a high school, of which the one in White Swan is the most recent, having been accredited in 1933. The Toppenish schools serve an urban population as well as students from its rural environs. Wapato is next in town size. White Swan has a clustered population of only 321, therefore most of its 500 students are carried to and from school by busses, and from distances up to 10 or 12 miles. To it also falls the task of attempting to educate a major part of the most reactionary, civilization-resident block of Indians on the reservation. Theoretically all Indian children of appropriate age and sound health are required to attend school, but the difficulties of enforcing this regulation are a torment to all concerned. For one thing, there is no marked desire for an education either on the part of the child or his parents. Some of the latter are even antagonistic toward the idea. At best many of the others are indifferent, so that if a child acquires a liking for school it generally comes from some fortuitous circumstances external to the family. The complaints that one hears against schooling are varied and testify mainly to a simple and unreasoned dislike for the whole idea. Some declare that the children learn nothing but bad habits, others that they should be taught farming and household management instead of arithmetic, geography and English, while still others protest against the discipline and the various regulations necessary to any smoothly functioning institution of the kind. So unimportant do most parents, particularly those of the conservative group known as "long hairs" (long braids is eq) consider an education that children are kept out of school (or rather not encouraged to go) on the slightest pretext; and they make a regular practice of taking them away to the fishing grounds on the Columbia early in the spring before school is over and keeping them out through September for hop picking, or for any one of a variety of reasons which exist for going to the mountains in the late summer or fall (note 9).

This unconcern has its effects upon the children. Even though a child were to develop a taste for learning under such circumstances the retardation he is bound to suffer as a result of frequent absences could have unfortunate psychological consequences. Unquestionably this factor has been a critical one in causing the pronounced decrease in Indian enrollment in the higher grades at White Swan. In this district there is a grade school, a high school with a manual training shop, and a separate building remedial work with handicapped students. (Sic) For the school year of 1941-42, which we may take as representative of other years, there was a total enrollment of 380 students in the elementary grades and 121 in high school. The 150 Indian mixed grade school pupils constituted a little less than half the total, while in high school white children outnumbered Indians five to one. (note 10)

Note 9-The belated and curtailed school year of the Indian is well shown by the 1940-41 monthly enrollment figures at White Swan; September 111, October 178; November 190, December 190, January 192, February 189, March 182, April 183, May and June 165. It is noticeable that the high school enrollment remained almost constant varying only from 21

to 26 over this period, while of the younger children only 90 were in attendance in September and 142 in May and June.

Note 19 On an average. Monthly enrollment varies. The highest Indian enrollment any month was grade school, 167, high school 26.

As far as could be learned this ratio has been rather constant through several successive years, indicating a rather high Indian "mortality" in the education process. Very few Indians have graduated from high school in the eight years that this has been possible, and a significant number of the few have been mixed breeds, some to such a degree as to challenge classification as an Indian. The records reveal that in the first graduating class of 1933 two out of ten were of Indian blood, in 1934 four ~~xx~~ out of ten, in 1935 two out of twelve, in 1936 eight out of twenty-one, in 1937 five out of seventeen, in 1938 two out of nine, in 1939 five out of nineteen, and in 1942 three out of twenty-one.

Another factor which doubtless has an effect in estranging the Indian child from the school situation is his linguistic handicap. (note 11) Teachers report almost every child appearing at school for the first time speaks English. This is expectable since elementary school teachers are not prepared to cope with the Yakima language, nor would an Indian family so confined in its native ways as not to teach its children English be likely to send them to school. Still, the facility with the English language achieved by most children of six in the "White Swan" district is by no means of the kind to put them upon such a basis of equality with white children. White people generally are not sufficiently indulgent of this handicap for the Indians of any age; they have little to gain from indulging him, are brusque, and expect him to meet their demands of efficiency in conversation. Teachers naturally are more considerate since this is part of their business; but with all their patience there remains an unbridgeable gulf between any two people neither of whom knows the native language of the other. The Indian, as in any other case involving a member of the minority group, is the one to suffer. The disadvantage is aggravated by the fact that the Indian child is normally in daily contact and converse with parents and associates who use the native tongue, and so must he, at least to the point of understanding it. In some homes parents deliberately speak the Yakima language to their children so that they will not forget it. One girl who has been two years in college comes from such a home.

Note 11 Allied to this and even more fundamental is the seldom appreciated fact that the Indian's thought processes are frequently quite different from those of his white teacher's.

Like other young people who have had a high school education she understands the Takima language but either does not speak it at all or has difficulty in doing so. Even her facility with our language is not impressive; with those who speak Takima the results are worse. In by far the greater number of cases the bilingual high school graduate is lacking in the ability to express himself in English and his comprehension of it in conversation is markedly limited. The writer has attempted to use some of these young people as interpreters, but with discouraging results. The school teacher even in high school, therefore has a persistent problem, and one which must be borne in mind if her efforts are to meet with more than nominal success.

Another source of uneasiness for the Indian beginner is the strangeness of the school community. In the rural districts Indian children seldom if ever have white playmates, and they are remarkably shy of adult white strangers. As time goes on some of the tension is lessened, and perhaps for the majority of students after a few years no direct evidence of it remains. However, the principal of the "White Swan grade school gives it as his opinion that as a group Indian pupils are more reticent and timid than whites. In every class or room, he says, will be found Indians who will not volunteer to recite or answer questions, and some who, even when asked and know the answer will reply that they do not know. Also, it is difficult to get them to participate in group activities, except in games and sports. In the latter they do well, and are sought after in the choosing of teams. In club activities, however, they fall short of what could be expected, all other factors being considered equal. An ironical instance occurred last year when a pageant was planned to portray the "first Thanksgiving. No Indian children could be induced to take parts of the necessary Indian characters, so grease paint had to be used to give the appropriate hue to the skins of Anglo Saxon substitutes.

Once again the question of racial discrimination obtrudes itself, this time with respect to the school community. It is obviously not relevant to teacher-pupil relationships, but it is pertinent to inquire whether white and Indian children display any feelings of racial differences. This is a very delicate subject to inquire about. It demands conscious observation and a refined appreciation of what constitutes the feeling of difference and how in subtle ways it can manifest itself. From all that can be learned from a question and answer survey it appears that there is no conscious recognition of racial differences in the "White Swan school, either on the part of Indians or whites. Indian pupils do not give ~~any expression~~ expression of any resentment to any feelings, frustration or dislike of what they experience there. To the knowledge of those observers who have been questioned there are no play group cleavages along racial lines, no "name-calling", no aloofness on the part of whites. From the same sources it appears that boys of both races fraternize more noticeably than do the girls, possibly because of their more extensive cooperation in games. On the other hand inter-racial schoolground romances are decidedly rare; and it would seem also that crossracial friendships are normally ephemeral, and are confined, moreover, to the school grounds.

At least, an instance of real comradeship to the contrary was considered to be worthy of special remark and commendation by one informant. Further - more, field nurses in making their tours of inspection and treatment of Indian children have learned that they get only a reluctant response when they use the adjective "Indian" in summoning their charges out of school rooms.

If a remote observer maybe permitted an opinion on the subject, it may be said that the "White Swan school community is free of any overt or even conscious race prejudices. On its school board of 3 members are two who have Indian blood in their veins; and it employs two Indian teachers at present. There are two good reasons for this apparent racial tolerance.

According to the unanimous opinion of those who are in a position to judge by daily contact, a good proportion of the white families who send their children to this school have little to feel superior about in any respect by comparison with the Indian; nor do they apparently. Secondly a good half of the school population now, and, up until a few years ago, even more than that, are Indian; thus bringing it about that the whites are numerically in the minority. Still, protests have come from the adult white minority (who politically are a majority). In one case some of its members objected to the hiring of an Indian teacher for their children; in another one candidate for a school board office is reported to have declared that, if elected, he would "give the Indians what is coming to them."

Without long and casual familiarity with the district it is impossible to say what undercurrents of antipathy flow beneath the relations of whites and Indians either on or off the school ground. Latent antagonisms are certainly bred along the way somewhere, somehow. The writer had occasion to verify the existence of a smoldering resentment this summer among xx a group of 10 year old boys. They were playing near by while I sat unobtrusively at some distance watching a ceremony of gift distribution after a funeral, the only white man present. Resenting my presence they laid out a rather realistic scheme to drive me away, all agreeing to the pronouncement of one that "white people do not allow Indians to go to their affairs, so Indians should kick white men out." It would be interesting to check the conclusion of one grade school principal to the effect that there are no evidences of suspicion and aloofness in the youngest Indian children who come under his observation, but that there comes a development of this with time (Note 12)

Note 12 Other races are represented at the "White Swan school besides the white and the Indian, and an attempt was made to determine the reactions to them. Little that is concrete is available. Three or four Mexican children were in attendance last year, part of the transient population, though principally because only one of them spoke English. There were two Japanese pupils who seemed to get along well enough; but also two Philipinos (sic) who did not. One small Negro girl was in attendance and was shunned except by her Indian foster sister. (Both of these girls were the adopted children of white parents, missionaries on the reservation.)

Teachers fortunately are agreed that the intelligence of their Indian pupils is not inferior to that of their white children. Some Indians do not appear for first grade training until they are nine and some are held over two years in this class. But the causes for this relate to factors external to their native intelligence. The remedial school contains about equal numbers of Indian and white children. The school superintendent gives it as his opinion that Indians excel as students in the botanical and "outdoor" sciences for they are better observers; that they are not so capable in the physical sciences which call for an aptitude in abstractions and thought configurations. This implies a lack of interest in academic training and learning for its own sake, a generalization which will hold for the vast majority of white high school students as well, especially from the lower middle class stratum of our society. Data simply are not available for verifying impressions on racial differences or interests and aptitudes.

Accomplishments

Without attempting to make an statistical or other inter-racial comparisons it can be said that there have been very few Indians in the past who have taken advantage of their opportunities of higher education. A review of the "White Swan" graduates from 1933 discloses that there have been only nine who have taken some kind of advanced work in institutions off the reservation. From the first two graduating classes, in 1933 and 1934, there were two boys each year who went to Haskell Institute (for Indians) in Kansas. In the 1935 class there was one girl who took training as a beauty shop operator, and who has since been employed in Portland. In 1936 another girl helped to pay her own way to attend Washington State College, but completed only two years there. In 1937 another girl graduate ~~attended~~ obtained a scholarship for a four year course at Washington State Normal at Ellensburg, but did not finish. Finally, two girls of the class of 1939 attended business schools, and so far as is known both have successfully completed their training and are working at present.

It is to be remembered that this is not the complete story, that there are two other high schools on the reservation (note 13) but it is felt that the White Swan summary provides a fair sample of the appeal of post-high school training. When inquiry is made among students to account for the small number a common answer is that low grades render them ineligible to meet the entrance requirements of colleges. That, however, is obviously only the immediate and formal reason. Opportunities for the ambitious are not wanting.

Note 13--Both, however, have a smaller Indian enrollment. A comparison of the highest enrollment any month for the three schools shows "White Swan" 167 grade, 26 high; "Topeka" 100 grade, 21, high school; "Wapato" 67 grade, 16 high.

In a posted bulletin from the education office interested in students this year are urged to take advantage of one of several means of intellectual advancement; Indian scholarships, educational grants and loans by the government, university loans and grants, national defense vocational training, state employment service, N.Y.A. (National Youth Administration) in colleges and vocational schools.

The Indian scholarships mentioned are available from three sources. The federal government will provide funds to worthy students upon application and recommendation of the local superintendents; the State of Washington Department of Education also offers a certain number of scholarships each year to Indians of one-quarter degree or more as one item in the federal assistance contract; and finally, the loan committee of the Yakima Tribal Council will consider applications for educational assistance, drawing upon tribal money for the benefit of deserving students. The requirements are not stringent, but the applicants are few. This year one student from the Yakima jurisdiction has been granted a scholarship for a four- (sic) (Four?) year course of study in civil engineering at Washington State College. He was one of four in the state receiving state awards.

From the circumstances here reviewed it can hardly be maintained that the Indian is convinced of the value of an education, and this despite the preachments that he has been subjected to for decades. Stirring appeals for educational facilities and inspiring claims for successes in bringing Indian children out of savagery have changed the pages of Indian agents' reports all through the early years of the reservation's existence. We do not believe that these enthusiasms were intended to deceive. ~~xxxxxxx~~ But ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ it does seem that they were ill advised and premature. Something more fundamental than the integrity and industry of administrators is involved.

The bald truth is that, despite the claims of educators, an education is not worth the effort of the Indian. Generation after generation he has discovered to his disillusionment that learning how to read and write, or even to keep books and repair machines, does not solve his problem. It does not make him a white man. It does not give him a job in Toppenish or Yakima. It does not make him an eligible candidate for the district attorney's office. It does not open the doors of the social leaders to him. Even if it makes him a more successful farmer, he is still an Indian farmer.

Quite apart from these facts of personal concern--and their importance must not be underestimated--there remains the signal truth that cultural evolution of whatever kind does not take place as a result of education. That we have gone on the assumption that it does has been our mistake. Formal education is a relatively rare phenomenon among peoples taken the world over, and it is a comparatively recent development in our own cultural history. Yet the world and its peoples have changed customs in an enending (sic) kaleidoscopic fashion for millennia. And today before our eyes history is made and customs change in spite of our teachings to the contrary and in the face of our reluctance to admit the need for new patterns of behavior.

Grammarians continue to teach the "proper" forms of speech and moralists to deplore the loss of demine reserve while the population goes on, as ever, to set up its own standards of speech and lady-like behavior. Somehow this obviously certainly has escaped us in our preoccupation with the magic of formal learning. It is time that we bring education to an acco nting and cease to be dazzled by its wonders.

Conclusion

Our conclusions must be that the Yakims have neither adjusted themselves to our way of life in a satisfactory manner nor have they retained ~~interest~~ intact the various virtues and the ideals of their aboriginal culture. They live an amorphous existence of tag ends and uncertainties. On the one hand they cling to certain outmoded survivals of their ancient habits, odd bits of custom and beliefs which immediately set them apart from their white neighbors. They preserve not a few material items out of the past which is the embalmed secular dress of old. More important is their retention of aboriginal forms of behavior which vitally effect the character of their lives today. Among these may be mentioned the preference for out-of-door living in mountains or river camps and in the backyards on creek bottoms near their permanent dwellings during the summer, their migratory habits, their concepts of hospitality, their adherence to native kinship reckoning frameworks, their reactionary views upon group leadership, their ~~perseverance~~ perseverance in native religious cults, and their rejections of modern medical science in favor of native practitioners. All of these things are not only sources of conflict with the whites; they are not even completely satisfying to the Indian, for they are in themselves anachronistic and incomplete. They are fragments of the old cultural fabric, frayed ends and flimsy seams in outmoded garments. They do not satisfy for emotional warmth because they are no longer integrated one with another in a master pattern. For any given individual one habit or idea does not presuppose the others; and he is never quite certain how his fellow men are going to react with respect to its observance. He is not secure in this crazy quilt world of ~~many~~ multiple courses, conflicting principles, and personal options. His friends and even his closest relatives are enigmas and unpredictable in their reactions. This is strikingly brought out when one attempts to find out whether some expected event is to take place, such as a move to the mountains, or whether some native ritual is to be carried out. It is irritating but illuminating to discover that no one knows until a few hours before the actual occurrence if it does indeed transpire.

While some customs have therefore been preserved to the consternation of both whites and Indians, others equally vital to the old way of life have faded and lost their appeals. We need not dwell at this point upon the numerous items in their material culture which the Indians have abandoned in favor of the technological advantages which our science has brought to them. This is an important topic but we are concerned for the moment with those customs which have vanished and for which no substitution has been accepted. Chief among them are the devices for social control, and in that sense they are the negative values of the old culture. They are the "don'ts" and "musts" of aboriginal life, formalized procedures and the avoidances that gave a well defined form and a certain uniqueness to the Yakimas as a people. It is only necessary to recall what has been said of the failure of public opinion, the relaxation of marriage restrictions, and the demise of constituted authority, the decay of economic compulsions, and the emasculation of parental authority to appreciate to what lengths this process of abandonment of principle can go.

The sum and substance of this conclusion is that the Yakima are men without a country and ~~even~~ worse. They are men without culture, which in anthropological parlance is the organized totality of a particular people's customs and beliefs irrespective of their degree of refinement.

These unfortunate people are without anchors or stays. They are without security or convictions. They are without a coordinated system of belief and behavior. They are without the consciousness of unity and pride which derives from all of these things. They have been de-humanized in the face of our efforts to civilize them. They stand as a rebuke and a humiliating challenge to our ingenuity.

The essence of social living is that it embodies a system. In any human society worthy of the name there are rules of behavior, things which can and other things which cannot be done, acts that are appropriate and acts that are improper. These specified ways of doing things and thinking about them are what we call the culture of a given people. They are artificial forms in that they modify the basic animal drives and tastes that impel every human being. They are the curbs and restraints on impulse and passion that make human life entirely different than that of dogs or cats, for example. When these man-made controlling devices are ignored a people revert to the non-cultural level of animals; and that is what the Yakimas have done over a large segment of their culture. They have abandoned themselves to individual impulse and whim so that there are no longer remains (sic) any distinctively human stereotype of behaving or thinking. The resulting absence of self-discipline is evident on every side. They avoid the restraints that marriage imposes and elude the responsibility of child support. They repudiate parental and community authority. They maintain these forms which give them pleasure and disavow the restricting patterns. Their physical wants are given free play, as is evident in their mating with whom and whenever they please, in their eating, whatever they want and whenever they want it, in their relaxation from labor when they tire or get bored, in their carelessness overindulgence in liquor and in their disposition to allow children to behave as they see fit. In their world of thoughts the necessity for food and clothing does not imply the necessity to submit to discipline; they want little of either and that little can be obtained with no labor by sponging, or by desultory and pleasing efforts at hunting and fishing. Labor for others, which involves a ~~xxx~~ stipulated amount of service at a given place and time is irksome because it is confining. Even in their play ~~xxx~~ this all pervading attitude of responsibility is apparent. Every society makes provision for the relaxation and refreshment of the members; but, again, these are provisions and in a real sense they are rewards for good behavior. There are certified times places as well as accepted forms of play. There are rules and proprieties to every game. Culturally approved relaxation is controlled play. For most of the Yakimas self-indulgence knows no rules of time or place or duration. It can intervene at any point in the course of the most serious business of making a living. Men leave their haying to go to town and meet their friends, a rodeo, to go on a "vacation" to the mountains, to go to the agency or town there is no certainty about when they will return.

The net result of all this is that the Yakimas are not an aggregate of people who do not act with unison. They are not a true society. They have no national or group sentiment. They are a conglomeration of individualities each one seeking his own private satisfactions in his own way regardless of the effects upon others, even others whom we think, human instinct would prompt them to love and protect. Maybe they do love, but it is obvious that selfishness can draw upon deeper springs. In part, the instability of the Yakimas ~~ixx~~ to get along among themselves is due to their disparate origins from several tribes; but fully as much comes from their de-cultured condition. As a group they simply have nothing in common with each other.

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It is commonly observed fact that the men in all lands tend to turn to religion for aid and comfort in time of personal crisis. A social crisis is not the same as a personal crisis although the former frequently is the underlying cause of the latter. If the two were synonymous we should expect to find all of the Yakimas earnestly praying for salvation. As a matter of fact most of them are not, and the reason is that the social chaos in which they live has not distressed them ~~individually~~ individually as we might expect it to. Indeed, as has already been pointed out, this chaos is an ideal setting for unrestrained personal satisfaction. True enough, a hedonistic pursuit of personal benefit is not satisfying to many people and it has its unpleasant consequences, and the ~~older~~ older most men become the truer this is. The Yakimas are no different than other human beings and so we should expect to find and do find many who lament the consequences of social disorder but who do nothing about it. It is only a minority who feel the pinches and stings so acutely that they have need for active relief and who turn to the only source, religion. Yet even in this ~~resort~~ resort it is obvious that the Yakima satisfactions are purely personal. Both of the native cults make protestations of charity and brotherly love, but the manifestations of these virtues are distressingly rare. Cult members practice their rituals and prayers for the emotional releases that they derive from them. They come away purged and refreshed but no better citizens.

That this state of affairs is the business of the Indians and not ours is a short sighted contention. Apart from the purely academic and humanitarian issues involved, the Indian's problems are definitely our problems. The chaotic state in which they live virtually affects our socio-economic interests. With their lack of attention to our own health they endanger their own. With their disregard of law and order they impose upon our legal system. Their privileged economic position brings complaints from wild life conservationists, commercial competitors, and public institutions supported by local taxation. They do not maintain a self-sustaining society; they are expensive wards and parasites living on the fringes of our culture, producing little and that little only because of the paternalistic supervision of our government. Without this prop most Indians would succumb. With all this in the balance only a foolish man would seriously advocate that we repudiate our obligations to the Indians. We have a stake in their future whether we like it or not. They are not "vanishing Americans" and it behooves us to face this fact and to do something about their problems because they are ours, if for no more lofty reason.

The problem is not simply a local one pertaining to the Yakimas. It involves the entire Northwest and even beyond. Contrary to popular opinion the Indian population is not decreasing but is increasing at a rate even ~~more~~ exceeding our national figures. There was a serious decline in 1900, but at the present time Indians are increasing at the rate of 1 per cent per year as against .7 per cent of our general population. In the United States in 1901 there were 269,388 Indians; in 1936 there were 336,336; in 1940 there were 361,816; and some statisticians estimate one-half million by 1940. (Our own northwestern states participate fully in their growth as is shown by this common table, taken from the annual report of Mr. Collier, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, for 1940:

| | 1934 | 1940 |
|------------|--------|--------|
| Oregon | 4,644 | 5,339 |
| Washington | 13,648 | 14,103 |
| Idaho | 4,187 | 4,281 |
| Montana | 15,255 | 16,840 |

When these facts are taken in conjunction with others it is clear that we cannot dispose of the Indian by ignoring or wishing him out of existence. For example in Oregon alone there are five reservations comprising a total of almost two million acres, tax exempt. Some of this land is economically worthless as we view it today, but by no means all of it. Lands of timber on the Warm Springs Reservation are valued at seven to twelve million dollars; and the tribal property of the Klamaths is valued in excess of \$20,000,000, making them the second wealthiest tribe in the United States. The Yakimas themselves hold over a million acres and an untouched timber stand valued at \$10,000,000 as a minimum. Nor must we forget that this represents a situation which is not likely to change in favor of those who would be pleased to see the Indian summarily disposed of. By the terms of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 this land is inalienable and provisions have been made to increase trust land holdings so that all Indians will have enough to become economically secure. Since 1933 four and one-half million acres have been ~~xxxx~~ bought back for Indian use and appropriations, not yet materialized, have been made for much more.

If we are to make a real contribution toward the solution of our common problems we must understand the historical background of the Indians plight. We must appreciate the circumstances which have made him what he is, and the part that we as his teacher and policeman have played in this. At the bottom of the difficulty has been this: we have by means of exhortation and pressures of various sorts succeeded in causing the Indian to abandon many of his old habits, such as purchasing wives and worshipping strange gods, yet have not succeeded in devising a means to induce him to ~~xxx~~ adopt our habits instead. We have shattered his old system of values and have failed to inculcate a new one.

One of the first steps in the disintegrative process was the early attempts by the agency officials to get the Indians to abandon their aboriginal economic base and to adopt farming. Favors were dispensed to those who were adaptable; they were estranged from their fellow members, and the basis of chiefly preeminence and control was undermined. The agency became the law, replacing the chief and public opinion. Men with property bestowed by the agency, i.e., amenable men became the important men; but the old chiefs, contributing to the process was the policy of establishing individually owned households and lands in effect, at least, a program of "divide and rule." For a division of interests was effected thereby and the ties of family and community were weakened. The intimate knowledge of the affairs of others, the aboriginal controls over children by a village disciplinarian, the sociability of village gatherings, the story telling and moral instructions by elders at campfire congregations, the centralization of interests in village affairs--all these were dissipated by the breakup of (sic) of the village.

Equally potent were the effects of the uprooting of most of the tribes from their old homeland soil and their transportation to the reservation. They felt like strangers and never settled into their former channels; they were at loose ends in a new land crowded with new neighbors. In this connection it is a remarkable fact that the indigenous inhabitants of the reservation area are still the most conservative Indians, and the "long hairs." Members of other tribes are more like white men.

For another factor contributing to the abandonment of native social controls we must look to our own ideals. As Americans we have always prided ourselves upon our individuality, selfsufficiency, resourcefulness, and personal worth; regardless of family background. Traditions are not sacred to us as they are to many people. We flout conventions and are proud of it. A man's personal worth is the most important thing, and we admire ruggedness in personality. It would be surprising if the Indian had not absorbed some of the recklessness and unconventionality of our forefathers, or the cynicism of our modern youth. Indian boys and girls today will answer a reproof for their conduct with the familiar "I can take care of myself." Can we blame them?

Although these are important causes of Yakima cultural sickness by far the most important has been our faulty approach to the cure. It was long ago recognized by educators that adults are much more difficult to teach than the children. It is not easy to teach an old dog new tricks and reservation officials early appreciated that the same applies to old Indians. They therefore felt that the salvation of the native with his strange customs lay in isolating his children and imbuing them with our cultural ideals. This has been the steadfast policy ever since. There can be no denying that the principle is sound, and also that it has achieved some success in its application. But this is not the end of the matter. There are important consequences to the procedure which surely were recognized as effects of the educational process. Nevertheless a moment's reflection will show that much of the unruliness of Indian children can be laid at the educator's door. For these young people are thought (sic) (taught?) to to admire and give credence to our ideals and to be skeptical of and condemn those thought (sic) them by their fathers. They are thought that (sic) the Indian customs are wrong, immoral, or fantastic and that they spring from ignorance, stupidity, and fear. Now all of this may be true, but it does not inspire a child (sic) with an admiration for his father and mother to be told in effect that they are ignorant savages. And without respect for their wisdom and experience the child is not likely to value their advice or submit to their discipline. It is more probable that the children will turn out to be irreverent savages themselves, confused, torn between two contrary sets of principles. In any case they do not obey their parents and the structure of social order is destroyed at its base, and that is, within the family. Education has been effective then; indeed, too effective it has destroyed something more valuable than that which it has to offer; namely peace, security, and the foundation of social order.

In addition to understanding the weaknesses of our past and present approaches to the Indian problem we must also be aware of the forces against which any program of reform must contend. We may call these the forces of conservatism by way of convenient designation. They are most pronounced in persons of middle or advanced age, and in Indians of full blood. Most people who deal intimately with Indians say that they prefer to deal with this combination of traits for their possessors are more honest and reliable.

It seems to be a fact that mixed bloods are more unpredictable; and the reason is that they are at odds with both the white and Indian way of life. They are ~~misfits~~ misfits and unhappy because of it. Rejected by both groups they lead a groping frustrated existence, and are likely to be more extravagant and unprincipled in their behavior because they have nothing to lose by such irresponsibility. By ~~thmx~~ the same token they are more easily brought into the white man's camp--if they are invited. The aged are more conservative for several reasons. One is because they have participated more completely in the social values of the old life and in consequence are more virtuous and conscientious. Another is because they have not been so much effected (si) (affected or) by the social and moral confusion which has engulfed all of us who have been more in the current of onrushing events in the modern world. Also, they have not been subjected to so much education as their children. Then, finally, there is the seeming fact that with the advance of age there comes a marked recession in the thinking of most Indians. This is more than a crystallization of the viewpoint of adult life. It is not a mere stabilization of their thinking as mature individuals. It seems to be a nostalgic return into the past. In all probability this retrogression is occasioned by disillusionment; the life that was promised them through cooperation with the white man's regime has not materialized and they retire into disgruntled advocacy of the Indian's ideals. It is a defense and a psychological refuge that they conjure for themselves.

We have to reckon not only with these differences in personal background; the kinds of habits which we wish to change reveal varying degrees of resistance to alteration. Other factors being equal the material objects used by a people are more easily eliminated or replaced by newly introduced ones than are new habits of thought or behavior, and it is especially true if the new thing, as an iron knife, is demonstrably more efficient than the native object, as a stone knife. But certain customs, such as those which restrain and hamper the forthright expression of animal passions, can be readily eliminated, other things being equal. Contrarywise it is difficult to substitute features which interpose additional obstacles (sic) (many types like this, I correct most of them) to the direct expression of the physical want, as knives and forks do for the Indian who is accustomed to eating his food by the more direct mode of using his fingers. (note..they used bone, shell and wooden spoons etc!)

The pressure of group opinion, whether of family, associates or the community at large enters to complicate the problem facing the reformer. In the case of newly introduced material objects this element has a minimum effect and this is one important reason why they are more readily accepted. They involve only one person, and the user, and an inert object, and so only his wishes are relevant. If he wants to adopt a new thing, such as the white man's axe or his coat, that is generally his business alone. He may suffer some ridicule for his poor taste, but he does not infringe upon the rights or deny his obligations to other people thereby, and therefore they are less concerned. They take a less personal interest in his vagary, and so leave him more to his own desires. It is otherwise with social patterns, for these personally effect other members of the group, and the Indian who proposes to junk old social customs for new ones introduced by the white man is in for a bad time of it. That is why it has been so difficult to effect a change in our notions of private property and generosity. The Indian who refuses indiscriminate hospitality and rejects communal living and perennial visiting offers a personal affront to his fellows and he receives the full measure of their scorn. It is no longer up to him alone to accept or reject the white man's offerings.

If we would change the Indians we must realize, too, that with them as with us certain personages and things develop into symbols of their distinctness, and these come in time to constitute hard-shelled cores, difficult to crack. The chief is such a personage. He represents the people and is the embodiment of their ideals, and the symbol of their unity and distinctness. Even though he might have a personal preference for the white man's ways, and this is not normally true, the pressure of his followers upon him to continue to be an Indian is far greater than for ordinary men who lack positions of public trust and responsibility. Long hair braids for men, buckskin clothing, the medicine men, and the long House have taken on symbolic significance for the Yakimas. So have native religious cults. The Shaker Cult is militantly and exclusively Indian. The Pom Pom religion is the haven for much of the ferment resisting further progress of the adjustment process. They are the rallying standards of the die-hard conservatives.

It is futile to say that the process of adaptation "takes time." If time were the critical factor in effecting change, and if progress in the past can afford us any criterion for the future, then we could look forward to at least another century of wardship for the Indian. But we need not accept so gloomy an outlook. Those who plead for time to remodel the Indian into white man argue on a fallacy. It is easy to demonstrate that custom is not a biological matter. It is not needed to be, and in fact it cannot be bred (sic) out of a population as can a physical trait such as skin color. It can be radically and completely altered in a single generation of infants. We need to keep this in mind to clarify our thinking upon the muddled problem of minority groups.

We need to remember, too, that the Yakimas are just one of a large number of minority groups in the northwest, and if we can profit by our knowledge of them it is quite possible that we shall have tools to work with the others. The concrete data incorporated in this report are specifically Yakima, but the problem they present is not confined to the reservation in the Yakima Valley. Neither are the conclusions in this chapter. They will apply, except for illustrations, to most Indians on reservations in our Northwest, and even to other minorities.

Finally, the war is effecting (sic) (affecting) the Indian like the rest of us, though perhaps somewhat more unjustly. He has been drawn into it without comprehension and may suffer in the same way. His condition affects (sic) us and it is a part of wisdom to do something about it.

SUGGESTIONS

It is well in the beginning to come to an understanding of aims in suggesting measures to be adopted on Indian policy. The assumption upon which the following proposals rest is that the Indian must be absorbed in the dominant white population, and lose his identity as an Indian if the problem that he presents as a member of a minority group are to be solved. It is also assumed that this process should be completed as speedily as possible without doing violence to the welfare of either the whites or the Indians.

Most readers will probably agree to these statements of ultimate aim, but their generalized form allowed for a wide latitude of interpretation such as that upon the meaning of absorption and as to what constitutes speed in the adjustment process. Presumably the Secretary of the Interior looks to the day, and this "as soon as possible," when the Indian will be a self-sufficient citizen.

But many items of policy in the Indian Commissioner's program at the present time are more effective in isolating the Indian and perpetuating his exotic status than in bringing about his assimilation into our national life as simply another American.

It would be possible to segregate Indian groups and to reconstitute them into homogeneous tribes with a true nationalistic spirit. Here are some units could be allowed to live their own private lives in a secluded universe of thought and custom. Under these circumstances their individual self-respect, pride, ambition and responsibility could be revived, and group ideals to satisfy their needs as a vigorous society could be developed. All of this could be done easily, but the result would be scattering of small nations within our nation, a number of relentless discordant minorities at odds with the surrounding American citizen culture. Experience tells us that they could be barbs in our sides; and it is doubtful whether we could any longer think kindly of them. Then surely the dreary spectacle of internecine conflict with the Indian would start all over again. For if our study of social science has thought (sic) us anything for certain it is this, that a dominant population will not tolerate the pretensions and alleged smugness of a minority groups (sic) in its midst; and the stronger the minority opposition the more violent the intolerance. Isolation and reconstitution is therefore not a solution and we must face the issue of absorption no matter how painful the process of both sides.

Accepting this conclusion it then becomes a necessity to understand the Indian and his psychology better than in the past. The ideal would be for every American to assume this responsibility, but it is above all incumbent upon those persons whose duty it is to administer policy, those officials in all departments who work directly with the Indian upon the reservations. Most of these people will protest that they do not know the Indian and will draw upon a record of long and capable service to illustrate their contention. Without any desire to disparage these claims it must be said that there is an important difference between merely living near and working with Indians and actually making a systematic study of their customs and world views. The latter approach yields a understanding that the 'fragments gleaned' from the former can never give. Indeed, it is a fact that can often easily be demonstrated that the hit-and-miss contacts that occur in the course of official duty give a badly distorted picture of Indian psychology. This applies even more when intimate contacts are made in the Indian home by investigators of health and other personal conditions. The importance of their responsibility makes it imperative that such field workers be given training in social ~~xxxxxx~~ psychology and anthropology. It should be stressed that orthodox training in social welfare is not enough to meet the demands of the situation. Social workers, without spreading out into fields ordinarily covered by the anthropologist, tend to approach the Indian with the preconceptions and biases (sic) of our own culture, and for all their purpose of energy and good will are liable to defeat their purpose from the start.

In line with this suggestion is the related one that we forego our impulse to attack the superficial aspects of the Indian's failure to adjust to our patterns and concentrate upon the more critical causes. We certainly deplore the medicine man's activity, for example, but it does no good to rail against or intimidate him.

He is but the symptom of a whole system of thought about disease. So, too, with the disregard of sanitation in the home, the murderous neglect of the sick, early mortality, etc. The root cause is the manner of viewing sickness and many unsavory consequences flow from this one set of premises. In the same way a shabby house cannot be renovated by preaching the ideal of beauty to the owner, nor even by giving him the paint and tools to repair it, because the reasons why he does not do so in the first place lie deeper and have other deplorable symptoms. Neither can we make permanent progress in providing for destitute and delinquent children by paying for their support or by hiring more social workers, policemen or judges. The cause, as in the other instance, remains untouched by our whitewash, and the "cure" is but an expensive stopgap.

The crux of the problem is this: that the Indian has not a system of values, nothing worth striving for. We have succeeded in destroying his aboriginal scheme and yet we have not offered him ours on a basis of equality. We expect him to conform to our restrictive measures but have denied him the rewards of this sacrifice of his selfishness and wilfulness. As long as he cannot look forward to acceptance in our society he can see no point in curbing his animal passions. We must assimilate him to secure this end. Then, and if, we do, that will be the day of his conversion to our norm.

The reversion of feeling created by this prospect looms as an insuperable obstacle. No one will deny that the process is or will be an easy one. It is not simply a matter of declaring good intentions, or even of being "educated" to it. In this we have to deal with emotions and not with intellect. Our function as social scientists is to determine the least painful means of effecting the desired end of assimilation by reducing the antipathy to it. Since any kind of a cultural difference, such as the way an alien group of people eat or dress, is a potential source of animosity, these differences must be reduced. And since we are the larger and dominant group the Indian's strange customs must be the ones to be modified. As to the means; there is abundant evidence to indicate that the most painful and least effective way to do this is to do this by coercion and suppression. It has already been ~~argued~~ argued also that the traditional solution by casemetic education of the young poses a dilemma (sic) and brings about disastrous results to Indian society when carried out. The alternative that is proposed here presupposes an entirely different approach, one that has never been systematically tried because it entails a field of study which has scarcely been explored. This is the anthropological approach, and it requires a scientific study of the normal cultural change in terms of patterns and processes.

By this it is meant that we must devote ourselves to a minute analysis of what takes place when customs undergo change in the normal course of events in our own or other well understood cultures. We must make repeated studies of customs selected for the knowledge that we have of all the factors bearing upon their change and the degree and kind of change that they reveal. At present we only approximate the ideal to the laboratory techniques of the physicist or chemist, recognizing only this difference, that our materials cannot be artificially arranged in a trail (sic) and error experimental form but must be accepted along with their variables as they occur as a part of our experience or observation. It is with this attitude that we must study our inventions, our fashion (sic) changes, and our voluntary adoptions of foreign ideas, foods, mechanical contrivances etc. It is not too much to hope that a controlled study of the changes which have taken place and that are taking place in our own language, for example

of the emergence of such new patterns as that of women in industrial life, would reveal processes which occur over the different guises. And with a knowledge of these and the factors which condition them the way is open to their control. Some hopeful efforts along these lines have already been made but it would be premature to pretend too much for the results at the present time. It is the necessity for their encouragement and the recognition of their importance that must now be stressed.

Presuming that this approach would yield a knowledge of how to control the cultural adaptation of the Indian, and so reduce the ~~prer~~ measure of antagonism toward him, there would still remain the racial (sic) barrier to complete assimilation. Physical differences generate repellent forces fully as potent as cultural ones, and these cannot be changed in a day. But physical absorption must be ~~xxx~~ with the cultural if there is to be an end to the Indian problem. A public appreciation of the implications of race will help to bring this about, but we cannot expect too much of mere factual indoctrination. It is important, for instance, that everyone be convinced of the well established fact that the Indian is not one with inferior mentally or physically to the white (sic) man before we can hope for popular tolerance (sic) (tolerance?) in marriage; but the emotional block is still there for most people regardless, and it will ever remain for the unusual individual to actually make the step off (sic) marrying an Indian. This we must face, but there is hope in the fact that today there are many mixed bloods unite with less hesitations than with each other. Through them the Indian as a physical type, may eventually disappear, and expect (sic) (except ?) for a romantic twinge, perhaps we must, as realists, look forward to this day with hope.